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# HOPPE not hate



British far right go to war  
... with themselves



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# HOPE not hate

An anti-fascist and  
anti-racist publication

November-December 2012

Issue no. 5

ISSN 2049-7806

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HOPE not hate is a bi-monthly publication providing information on hate groups and community initiatives to combat them.

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## Nick Lowles

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## A state of flux

This has been a particularly difficult issue of the magazine to put together. Every time we think we have finished, another schism or development occurs within the British far right. And I'm sure that as you read this a lot more has happened.

In fact, in my 20 years' involvement in this work I cannot remember a time when so much is changing within the far right.

The splits, public in-fighting and even threats are obvious a cause of amusement and as the battle for supremacy of the far right rages these groups will be even less able to carry out their work. But let us not get too complacent. At some stage the dust will settle and one group will emerge dominant and its supporters battle-hardened and confident.

Against the background of economic hardship, austerity and deep-rooted prejudice against immigration and – more recently – Muslims, we will find ourselves with more work to do.

### Radicalised young men

In this issue we run an important story about a community campaign in Thurnby Lodge, Leicester, to prevent a disused scout hut becoming a mosque. We reveal that the organisers of this campaign were EDL and former BNP activists. We also reveal how a similar initiative is gathering steam in Hinckley.

Tapping into a community's sense of neglect and abandonment coupled with antipathy towards outsiders is a toxic mix and a great cause of concern. Add to that young men who have been politicised and radicalised by groups like the English

Defence League and we have real problems if we are not careful.

The far right might be collapsing nationally but the ideas they fermented are very much alive at a local level.

### Tackling the fall-out from grooming

Child sex grooming is now the most regularly featured issue in far right propaganda today. They are seeking to tap into real public anger at a growing number of cases that seem to be making their way through the courts.

With the majority of perpetrators appearing to come from British-Pakistani communities and the victims mostly young white girls, the far right are having a field day. But while it is right to debunk their lies and distortions we must have the courage to speak up about the issue and confront some difficult issues.

As we contend in this issue, remaining silent is no longer an option.

### An inspiration of HOPE

Last month HOPE not hate opened a Get Well book for Malala Yousafzai, the brave 14-year-old from Pakistan who was shot in the head by the Taliban for daring to campaign for girls to be educated. An astonishing 7,000 people sent in get well messages.

Malala should be a symbol of our resistance to intolerance and organised hatred.

Our Get Well book formed part of our Hate Crime Awareness Week. It was an opportunity to inform our supporters about the daily reality of hate crime but also to promote the great work that is being done by so many organisations to support victims and reduce hate crime.

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### GERMANY: HOW EXTREMIST IDEOLOGIES ARE TAKING HOLD

#### HOPE not hate challenges the politics of hate and organised intolerance within society.

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. Since it was founded in 2004, HOPE not hate has over 165,000 online supporters and 50,000 followers on Facebook.

We are not aligned to any political party and will work with everyone wherever possible.

HOPE not hate comprises Searchlight Information Services and our charitable wing, the Searchlight Educational Trust.

[www.hopenothate.org.uk](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk)

## CONTRIBUTORS



JANE MERRICK

Jane Merrick, political editor of the *Independent on Sunday*, looks at how extremist parties are being edged out of the political landscape.



TANNI GREY-THOMPSON

Paralympic champion and TV pundit Tanni Grey-Thompson discusses how the Paralympics changed attitudes to disabilities.



MARIA MARGARONIS

UK correspondent for *The Nation*, talks to HOPE not hate about how austerity is causing the rise of Golden Dawn in Greece.



**HOPE  
not hate**

The  
'Counter-Jihad'  
movement

The global trend feeding  
anti-Muslim hatred



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MATTHEW COLLINS  
WITH A FOREWORD BY BILLY BRAGG

# HATE

MY LIFE IN THE BRITISH FAR RIGHT

"hard-hitting and darkly comic" METRO

"a timely rift on the past 25 years of the UK far right" THE INDEPENDENT

"brilliantly told, incredibly funny" FAIR CRIMES MP



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# HATE

## My Life in the British Far Right

by Matthew Collins

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and often achingly funny paragraphs."*

Belfast Telegraph

*"Hard hitting and often darkly comic prose  
of the years he spent with those who planned  
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often dark."*

Sunday World



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The far right work to divide  
communities – **Hope not Hate**  
**work to unite them.**

Driving against intolerance –  
**ASLEF the train drivers union.**



## Infidels Arrested Over “Kidnap” Video

TWO MEN have been arrested after a video was posted by the North West Infidels allegedly showing a kidnap of an unknown man.

The short video was posted on Facebook and featured an unknown “victim” tied up and gagged in the boot of a red car.

The man was subjected to racist abuse and threats and is clearly shown being threatened with a meat cleaver or machete.

Lancashire Police issued the following statement: “Two people have been arrested after a video was posted on a social networking

site showing a man tied and gagged in the boot of a car and being threatened with a machete.

“A 39-year-old man and a 19-year-old man, both from Wigan, were arrested at their home addresses by Lancashire police in the early hours of this morning and are currently being questioned on suspicion of publishing written material to stir up racial hatred.”

The video was removed shortly after it was initially posted and a number of Infidel Facebook pages disappeared following the arrests of the two men.



Still from alleged Infidel “kidnap” video

## Griffin Investigated By Northern Ireland Police

BNP CHAIRMAN Nick Griffin is being investigated by the PSNI for calling Irish nationalists “Fenian bastards” on his official Twitter account.

His comments followed criticism following his controversial attendance by unionists as well as nationalists at the Ulster Covenant commemoration in September.

Griffin attended the commemoration alongside 20,000 other unionists, including the Orange Order, to mark 100 years since the signing of the Ulster Covenant. The Ulster Covenant of 1912 was a pledge by 470,000 unionists to oppose the introduction of Home Rule for Ireland.

After criticisms on Twitter Griffin replied: “So Ulster pics have upset my republican stalkers. Tell you what, the bodhran can’t match the lambeag, you Fenian bastards.”

SDLP councillor Nichola Mallon said she had lodged a formal complaint against Mr Griffin with the PSNI because she regarded his comments as an “incitement to hatred”.

The PSNI have attempted to contact Griffin to arrange an interview with him over the comments.



## EDL Member Threatened “Oslo Style” Attack

A FORMER soldier and EDL activist has been given a 12-month community order sentence for posting threatening messages on Facebook.

Kenneth Holden, from South Shields, pleaded guilty to two counts of sending an offensive message by a public communication network at South Tyneside Magistrates' Court.

Holden was arrested after the police were alerted to abusive comments written on his personal page.

In April, Holden posted: “got a pipe bomb just 4 Ocean Road”. Ocean Road in

South Shields is well known for its Indian restaurants.

He continued: “GIVE ME A GUN AN AL(sic) DO YOU ALL OSLO STYLE”, referring to the actions of Norwegian mass murderer Anders Behring Breivik who killed 77 people in cold blood in 2011.

The prosecution said that after he was arrested, Holden “asked the police if it was because he didn’t like Muslims.”

Holden also admitted causing criminal damage to his grandfather’s home in a separate incident.



## Ex BNP Councillor Spared Jail

A FORMER Stoke-on-Trent BNP councillor has received a suspended jail sentence for using racist language on the internet.

Michael Coleman denied two counts of racially aggravated harassment relating



Colemanballs: Michael Coleman spared jail

to articles posted on his personal web blog regarding last summer's riots.

Coleman, who appeared at Stoke-on-Trent Crown Court, received an eight-month suspended for 12 months plus 240-hours unpaid work.

The former councillor vowed to continue posting his racist views after receiving his sentence, claiming he had been exercising freedom of speech.

Labour councillor Joy Garner referred the matter to the police after Coleman's postings were brought to her attention by one of her constituents.

Coleman had voluntarily attended a police interview following Cllr Garner's complaint. He was later charged by Staffordshire Police with intending to cause racially-aggravated harassment, alarm or distress by displaying writing, a sign or other representation, which was threatening, abusive or insulting.

Coleman's sentence means he is barred from standing in elections for the next five years.

## Belfast Pair Arrested Over National Front Leaflets

TWO MEN were arrested in October after National Front leaflets were distributed in the south Belfast area.

The men, aged 33 and 49, are being held on suspicion of distributing written material with intent to incite hatred.

Anna Lo, Member of the Northern Ireland Assembly, said that she was sickened by the leaflets delivered in the Tates area of south Belfast.

Ms Lo said: "I am sickened that National Front leaflets were being distributed in Northern Ireland. Nobody wants the hatred of the National Front here. We have done so much work on moving Northern Ireland forward and away from hate crimes."

"I know many people would be worried by such a development and like myself, would not want the National Front to start operating here."

"There is no support for the extremist views of the National Front here and I would tell them that they are not wanted here or anywhere."

## Sunderland Anti-Mosque Demo Turns Violent

A DEMONSTRATION involving 200 people against a proposed mosque in Sunderland turned violent with local police making 13 arrests.

The protest, organised by Warren Faulkner of the North East Infidels, saw groups such as the EDL, NF, BNP and CXF link up with the infidels to attack both anti-fascists and local Asian youths at the site of the proposed mosque on St Mark's Road, Millfield.

They also attacked the police, pelting them with bottles and fireworks, prompting police to deploy their batons.

One local resident said: "I'm worried things could come through the windows if it gets violent. We're looking

at moving now. With everything that is going on we don't want to live here anymore."

Assistant Chief Constable Steve Ashman said: "It is disappointing that a protest that was planned as peaceful has resulted in arrests. We have a strong police presence in the area and this will continue in order to provide reassurance to the community."

"We will not tolerate any sort of disorder and those seen to be committing such offences will be arrested."

Eight men were arrested for suspicion of public order offences and three males were arrested on suspicion of affray. All were released on bail pending further enquiries.



Police made 13 arrests in Sunderland

## EDL Hold Violent Walsall Demo

CHAIRS, BRICKS, bottles and litter bins were hurled at police as an EDL demonstration in Walsall turned predictably violent.

Violence erupted as the EDL attempted to break through police lines hoping to attack counter protestors.

Thirty people were arrested as police used batons and shields to control the violent mob.

"The majority of people attending the two demonstrations were peaceful and law abiding," said Chief Superintendent Dave Sturman.

"Unfortunately, a small number of people at the Leicester Street site became a little more aggressive and there was minor disorder for around 10 minutes."

"Arrests were made where necessary and further enquiries will be made to determine if any other offences were committed."

The EDL claimed that a large number



Self-inflicted wounds at Walsall

of their activists were injured at the hands of heavy-handed policing; however it was later revealed that most of the EDL's injuries were self-inflicted due to missiles hitting their own people.

One EDL steward Simon Blewitt wrote on his Facebook page: "Demo at Walsall, got hit in the face, back of the head with a bottle. Two different lumps of concrete and a lump of wood! All by our lot! Joys of stewarding."

All those arrested for public order offences during the protest were bailed.

- Home news is collated and updated on a daily basis at [www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/)  
scan the QR code to see the latest >>
- Grooming – an issue we cannot ignore page 20



## FRANCE | Jeunesses nationalistes a rising force

JEAN-YVES CAMUS IN PARIS

ON 29 SEPTEMBER, France's interior minister Manuel Valls outlawed a demonstration in Paris by the Jeunesses nationalistes (JN) threatening to march under the slogan "No to anti-white racism."

Despite the ban, a 57-strong mob, led by Rhône-Alpes regional councillor Alexandre Gabriac (pictured), tried to gather in the city centre. All were arrested and four detained for breaking the ban, carrying a prohibited weapon or resisting arrest. This is the third time in a year a JN event has been banned, either in Lyon or Paris.

Gabriac founded the JN in 2011 after he was fired from the Front National (FN) for giving a Nazi salute. Before that, aged just 19, he had been the youngest FN elected official and had been elected to its central committee. From its stronghold in the Lyon area, the JN has become the rising force of extra parliamentary right-wing extremism, opening branches with a few activists in the major cities and attracting followers with radical slogans like "Action without compromise".

The movement says it wants to fight "the American-Zionist axis", "stateless liberalism and international finance", "miscegenation as a model of society" and "anti-white racism and crime". It also supports Holocaust-deniers.



## GERMANY | Nazi groupings banned

MICHAEL KLEIN, FOR ANTIFA-NET IN BERLIN

ON 23 AUGUST, the interior ministry of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), Germany's largest state, slapped bans on three nazi organisations: the Kameradschaft Hamm, Kameradschaft Nationaler Widerstand Dortmund (NW) and the Kameradschaft Aachener Land (KAL).

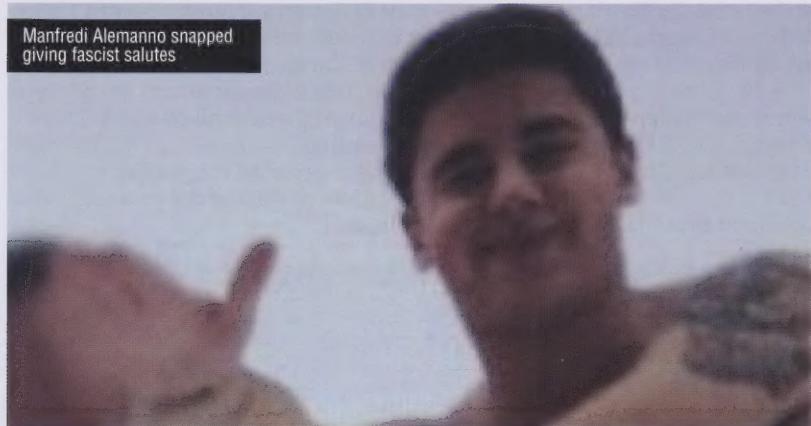
The most active nazi organisations in the region, they were raided by police who confiscated propaganda material, nazi paraphernalia and numerous weapons. The KAL, established in 2002 and with close connections to the local National Democratic Party, had mounted frequent attacks on anti-fascists and tried to intimidate them.

The so-called Anti-War Day, an annual march organised by NRW nazis on 1 September, was prevented because of the bans. In 2011, 500 nazis joined the event and several delegations from other European countries took part.

These latest moves by Social-Democrat-Green coalition in NRW represent a harder anti-nazi line and follow a crackdown in neighbouring Rheinland-Pfalz. On 13 March, police there raided the homes of the activists in the Aktionsbüro Mittelrhein organisation, arresting 24 of them.

Meanwhile, the case against them for having built a criminal organisation has begun. As one of the leading activists gave testimony to save himself from being prosecuted, there probably will be some heavy fines. Late in September, the authorities in Lower Saxony outlawed another nazi group, "Better Hanover". This group is held responsible for racist propaganda and threats to members of regional MPs.

Manfredi Alemanno snapped giving fascist salutes



## AUSTRIA | Nazi reunion revived in Carinthia

FROM MARTIN JORDAN, FOR UNITED IN VIENNA

THREE YEARS after the organisers of the notorious Ulrichsberg nazi veterans rally threw in the towel in a desperate attempt to distance themselves from "any extremism", the Ulrichsberg Association has revived the gathering with public funding from the federal state of Carinthia and its capital Klagenfurt.

In 2009, the anti-fascist movement in Austria celebrated victory over this revisionist tradition, which had annually assembled Nazi veterans of the German Army, the Waffen SS, student fraternities and young nazis at the Ulrichsberg since 1958.

Then, in 2009, the rally was cancelled following a scandal involving the now replaced Nazi-relics-selling head of the Ulrichsberg Association. After a relocation of the event in 2010 and a flop in 2011, the organisers hoped for a revival in 2012.

This year, about 300 participants met at their chosen place of ritual, a mountaintop close to Klagenfurt, to applaud speakers like Waffen SS veteran Herbert Belschan von Mildenburg, who took the stage as the voice of proud former Nazi soldiers. Although the Austrian military were forced to put an end to their support for the gathering, public money continues to help keep this disgraceful tradition alive.



## ITALY | Town salutes fascist, Rome mayor's son gives fascist salute

MICHELE ZACCHI REPORTING FROM ROME

THE RIGHT-WING town council in Affile, a small town 80km from Rome, has opened a museum-shrine to the Italian fascist general and war criminal, Rodolfo Graziani.

A murderer of Libyans and Eritreans between the wars, he ended WWII as leader of the Mussolini's army. News of the commemorative mausoleum – which cost €160,000 – leaked out in August, the day before the anniversary of the 1944 massacre of St Anna di Stazzema in which 560 people, mostly women, old people and

**Ulrichsberg nazi veterans rally**

**Nationell Idag**

**Alexei Zhuravlyov**

**New Flemish Alliance leader Bart De Wever**

**children were murdered by Hitler's SS.**

The acceptability of the trappings of fascism remains a scandal in Italy as shown by the recent exposure of Manfredi Alemanno, 17, the son of Rome mayor, Gianni Alemanno, who was snapped giving fascist salutes while on holiday with six of his mates on the Greek island of Mykonos.

Though Alemanno snr gives administrative jobs to hardcore fascists, he is shy of being reminded of his own fascist past. His son, though, is more brazen, openly belonging to the so-called Student Bloc, the youth outfit of Gianluca Iannone's violent right-wing extremist Casa Pound, one of whose members brutally murdered two Senegalese migrants last December.

**Ulrichsberg nazi veterans rally**

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**SWEDEN | Infighting leaves extremist press in tatters**

DANIEL VERGARA, FOR EXPO IN STOCKHOLM

*Nationell Idag* (National Today), Sweden's only far-right paper to receive a press subsidy from public funds, is in deep crisis.

The weekly's editor-in-chief has been fired, accused of having embezzled over £9,000, and Heinz Burgermeister, the legally responsible publisher, has quit the paper.

*Nationell Idag* is closely tied to the right-wing extremist National Democrats and pockets almost £160,000 in annual funding from the state. Some months ago, the then editor-in-chief, Sanna Hill, and the most recent editor-in-chief, Vavra Súk, formed a separate company and declared the paper independent from the National Democrats.

Later, Hill left and started writing for the Nazi Party of Swedes while Súk was dismissed for embezzling money and replaced by party secretary Jimmy Windeskog. Súk has now published an open letter on a Nazi website calling his removal a "coup".

The party been hit by other internal dissensions and defections caused by dissatisfaction with party leader Marc Abramsson. Among those quitting is former vice president, Daniel Spansk, who has decamped to the Party of Swedes.

**RUSSIA | Rodina rides again in its Homeland**

THE RIGHT-WING Rodina ('Homeland') party which once styled itself as Russian president Vladimir Putin's "special force" has re-established itself after separating from the "A Just Russia" party with which it amalgamated in 2006.

A conference in Moscow attended by 136 delegates from 59 regions of Russia elected Alexei Zhuravlyov, a member of the Russian parliament's lower house, as party leader. Zhuravlyov emphasised that the 'new' party would pursue the same course as when it was first founded in 2004 by Dmitri Rogozin, who is now a deputy premier in the Russian government but who quit his post as head of Rodina in 2006 after pressure from the Kremlin.

Rogozin, responsible for military-industrial affairs in the government, now says he does not belong to a party but he is widely believed to be the power behind Zhuravlyov's throne. The congress adopted the party's "moderate nationalist" programme which sets out the party's main aim as to win power.

It will function as a Putin-backed "alternative" deflecting support for the liberals and Communists.

**BELGIUM | Vlaams Belang suffers electoral defeats**

BY WIM HAELESTERMAN, FOR AFF/VERZET - RÉSISTANCES IN BRUSSELS

LOCAL ELECTIONS held in Belgium on 14 October produced a catastrophe for the far-right Vlaams Belang (VB), the party losing its local councillors almost everywhere in Flanders.

And in the Brussels region, the VB hardly exists anymore, having lost 14 of its 15 seats. In Antwerp, the VB's traditional stronghold, the number of VB candidates elected dropped from 20 to five and the party saw its vote slashed by more than two thirds. In 2006, the VB still had 33 % of the Antwerp vote but now has only 10%.

The big winner – as predicted – is the nationalist New Flemish Alliance (N-VA) whose leader Bart De Wever will be mayor of Antwerp for the next six years.

The separatist N-VA is now the biggest party in Flanders and its vote is separatist as well as "anti-establishment". The party has won the support of the electorate which supported the VB and the liberal democrat party VLD in the past. In Wallonia, the far-right no longer plays a role.

Most right-wing extremist candidates scored extremely bad results. Six obscure far-right parties, all "successors" to the old Front National, did little more than annoy each other. Barely five candidates elected in the province of Hainaut are all that is left. In Brussels, the Francophone far-right is nowhere to be seen.

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## INDIA | Right-wing extremists stoke up anti-Muslim tensions

Source: Times of India

Public clamour over Pakistan fanning communal passions in India through social networking sites has missed a crucial detail: around 20% of the web pages whipping up communal hatred between Hindus and Muslims, and blocked by government agencies, were uploaded by right-wing Hindu fundamentalists seeking to polarize the situation.

Sources in India's security agencies say posts have carried pictures or videos of Tibetan self-immolation in protest against Chinese occupation. These posts were, however, falsely captioned as atrocities against 'Assamese Hindus' by 'illegal' migrant Muslims.

"Several images had been cropped to obliterate the background that could have revealed the actual context of the pictures," said an official.

Agencies have also found indications that a large number of SMSs spreading panic among the north east Indians living across the country were generated by right-wing extremist Hindu groups.

"The panic led to a mass exodus of people from several cities. Right-wing Hindu groups have played a major role in spreading panic among the north-easterners," said the official.

Sources said that days before the exodus from Bangalore began, rabid SMSs about the killing of four persons from the north-east and a fatwa being issued against people from the region started doing the rounds. These messages are believed to have been spread by right-wing groups too.

## JAPAN | opposition leader visits notorious war shrine

Source: New York Times

JAPAN'S HAWKISH opposition chief Shinzo Abe visited a notorious Tokyo war shrine in mid-October in a provocative move that has raised questions about his far-right nationalist agenda.

Former prime minister premier Abe, who heads the conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), paid his respects at the Yasukuni Shrine which honours Japan's war dead, including Class A war criminals. In the past, such visits by Japanese leaders have angered China and South Korea both victims of Japan's early 20th-century militarism, who view the huge Shinto shrine in central Tokyo as a symbol of Japan's refusal to atone for past aggression.

During an internal LDP election last month, Abe took the hardest line in a field of five conservative candidates, calling for expanding the limits of Japan's pacifist constitution to allow a full military, and supporting patriotic education that teaches a



more sympathetic view of Japan's murderous actions during WWII.

Opinion polls show his party in the lead with national elections expected in December, making Abe the most likely candidate to replace current prime minister Yoshihiko Noda. This has raised concerns that Abe could once again try to pull his nation to the right, at a sensitive time when Japan faces tensions with China and South Korea over territorial disputes.



## USA | New York wakes up to Golden Dawn danger

Eric O'Neill, Washington DC

IF GREECE'S nazi Golden Dawn party thought it clever to open offices in the USA then they are quickly finding out it is harder than it seems to win over their neighbours.

In September, the Greek nazis announced the opening of offices in New York City to garner support in America's vibrant Greek community.

Within days, the internet hackers' group Anonymous had forced the American Golden Dawn website offline, Greek leaders were publicly denouncing Golden Dawn and its bigotry, and human rights activists were announcing a series of protest marches and rallies in the coming weeks.

Now, Greek-American leaders have become more vocal. "I can speak for many of my fellow Greek-Americans to say that we do not accept a group whose primary purpose is to spew hate

language," said NY Assemblywoman Aravella Simotas.

Last summer Golden Dawn won 18 of the Greek Parliament's 300 seats. The party is known for its violence, including assaults on immigrants and an attack on an elected official during a live televised political debate.

New York City officials report that Golden Dawn activities have been restricted to a few random literature drops around the Astoria neighbourhood, home to one of the largest Greek communities in the USA.

*Guest column...*

# Holed below the waterline

**Jane Merrick**, political editor of the *Independent on Sunday*, looks at how extremist parties are being edged out of the political landscape

THE STORY OF the 2012 autumn conference season was the battle for the centre ground. All three main political parties attempted to reclaim this electoral sweet spot for themselves. Nick Clegg claimed the Liberal Democrats were no longer for protest votes but a mainstream party of government.

When Ed Miliband declared his party was now "One Nation Labour", adopting the traditional brand of the Conservative Party's centrist wing, it provoked calls from Tories for David Cameron to reclaim the centre.

If the political centre ground is now crowded, does this mean that the votes of the nation are also huddled towards the middle? And where does this leave the far right, pushed to the extreme edges of politics?

After gaining ground in local, national and European elections in the UK during the middle of the last decade, peaking with 57 local authority councillors in 2009, the British National Party has been in retreat for the past three years. The local elections in May this year left the BNP with three councillors and the party lost its seat on the London Assembly, securing just 2.1 per cent of the vote in the capital.

Chairman Nick Griffin is an MEP in Brussels but receives little attention in the UK. Ridiculed over his performance on Question Time three years ago, Griffin has struggled since then; he is a divisive figure in the party, which is beset by splits and funding problems.

## Decline

The BNP's decline has been a boost to the English Defence League, yet this group remains largely interested in protest rather than the ballot box – although there is a suggestion the EDL will attempt to field candidates at the next election.

The willingness of mainstream political parties to discuss issues like immigration over the past five years has pushed the far right towards the margins of British political debate. And UKIP are currently enjoying a mini-resurgence in the polls: their nationalist, anti-European agenda satisfying a demand that the BNP was perhaps once able to meet.

There is also, of course, the huge success of Hope Not Hate in defeating the BNP and other far right parties at a grassroots level, using technology and community organisation to fight them street by street. At the local elections, hundreds of community organisers for Hope Not Hate delivered more than 750,000 leaflets and mailshots.

It is arguable that the British political centre ground has shifted leftwards. Danny Boyle's Opening Ceremony of the Olympic Games was the big TV hit of the summer, besides the gold medal winning achievements of British athletes themselves. Boyle's portrayal of multicultural Britain was applauded by Labour, Liberal Democrat and Conservative politicians alike. Somali-born Mo Farah is the frontrunner to win the popular vote of the BBC's Sports Personality of the Year award.



## Extremism

But despite all this evidence of how the far right is losing support nationwide, there are ever-present concerns that the BNP and others could be resurgent once again. On Twitter – the great democratic tool of the 21st century – Griffin has more than 14,000 followers, many more than most MPs in Westminster. And Jon Cruddas, Labour's policy chief who was fought the far right in his Dagenham constituency, warns that if the economy worsens the BNP could begin to win back support.

He says: "We cannot rest on our laurels. The economic situation is continuing to deteriorate and history suggests where you have declining economic conditions, then there is a parallel rise in far right extremist activity."

"The BNP are at the moment holed below the waterline. It is almost a page-turning moment. Mainstream political parties have

got to regroup. No one thinks these issues have gone away."

Cruddas pointed to the situation in mainland Europe, particularly in countries severely hit by the eurozone crisis. In debt-ridden Greece, the neo-Nazi party Golden Dawn is increasingly influential, with this year's elections handing them 7 per cent of the popular vote and a foothold in Parliament.

"The far right are not going to go away" Cruddas adds. "We have to become more energised in our campaigning. Mainstream political parties now discussing issues like immigration, but you should always sound a warning note. These things are like bushfires – it can take a tiny thing to make them spread. That is why Hope Not Hate is absolutely vital. They were the first community organisers, now all political parties are now looking to community organisers because of the Hope Not Hate movement over the last four to five years." ●

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# All change

October was a monumental month for the British far-right with massive changes within virtually every organisation. How the chips will fall remain to be seen but what is almost certain is that the far right is about to experience a new cycle acrimonious and quite public infighting. *Nick Lowles and Matthew Collins reports*



Nick Griffin and Andrew Brons sit together in the European Parliament in happier times

IT HAD BEEN a long time coming but finally, last month, Yorkshire and Humber MEP Andrew Brons resigned from the British National Party, citing his treatment by party leader Nick Griffin and his cronies.

"The current chairman of the rump BNP has described me in a text to his attack dogs as 'vermin,'" he said in his resignation statement. "More recently, he described me as a 'state agent' – a description he attached to me 26 years ago but which obviously did not apply when he appointed me as the lead candidate in Yorkshire for the European elections."

"I have so far remained within the Rump Party, because I am aware that I was elected because I headed a party list and not because of any personal qualities recognised by the electorate.

"However, it is also clear that 80%

or 90% of the party's membership, activists and former officials have left it and disappeared in several different directions. The current rump Chairman bears the heavy responsibility for having destroyed the party of which he is still nominally head."

Of course, none of this was unexpected. Ever since his failed leadership bid 15 months ago Brons' future within the BNP was always going to be limited. It was only a question of when.

Brons will shortly set up a rival political party to the BNP but in a sign of the chaotic way he and his supporters operate this has still not been announced. Even the manner of his resignation, through a blog on his website, was pretty amateurish and missed a great media opportunity to promote a new party.

The idea of a new party first emerged in the Spring of 2011 as the party was still reeling from the disastrous election results of the previous May. Amid much political infighting and bloodletting, which resulted in huge swathes of party activists leaving, Brons was approached to break with Griffin and establish an alternative.

In April 2011, London barrister Adrian Davies even registered the British Democratic Party with the electoral commission with the view that Brons would make his move the weekend after the expected poor election results in early May.

The poor election results came as expected, but Brons decided not to jump. He was to claim that a new nationalist party would never succeed as long as the main party still existed. He was convinced that the BNP would implode

through financial ruin or court action, perhaps even a combination of both.

### Huge debts

He waited and waited but neither happened. Griffin has long proved that he is a political fighter and a resilient one at that.

Brons' decision to wait was made largely because of his own experience of the failed National Party initiative during the days of the National Front, but of course the situation of the BNP was quite different. If Brons had moved in May 2011 he would have taken the bulk of the party with him and left Griffin with huge debts and a demoralised tiny rump.

By waiting until now he finds himself with an equally demoralised and disparate network of supporters, strewn across several far right groups and many who have just dropped out altogether. Largely through the EU payroll and a huge legacy earlier this year, Griffin's BNP has overcome its financial crisis.

Brons' claim that the time has not right has led many to believe that he simply did not have the fight in him, preferring to quietly see out his last couple of years as an MEP before taking retirement.

Even the manner of his resignation has done little to dissuade some from this view. A high profile resignation should have immediately been followed by an announcement of a new party but this has still not happened.

While the new party is likely to be revealed shortly, few of those around him could hardly be called dynamic. Most of old friends from the 1980s and almost none have any experience in fighting modern election campaigns.

And politically, if anything, the new party will be even more hardline than the BNP and it will include some of Britain's most prominent antisemites, Holocaust deniers and national socialists.

It is also questionable whether the new party can hold together. The current group around Brons are united in an opposition with Griffin but whether the unity will last deciding on a political programme remains to be seen.

Much will depend on Brons and his ability to hold the new party together. And this will all depend on how much he really wants it.

### Courting controversy

Nick Griffin must have been aware something was afoot and he has spent much of the last few weeks in a desperate bid to raise his profile by courting controversy.

A desperate Nick Griffin took to Twitter to create some cheap and sensationalist headlines with a series of childish, but dangerous, anti-Irish sectarian comments. The Irish press took issue with him and Griffin lapped it up.

He next took on the gay community, with a tweet asking for the home address of the couple who won a court case after they were refused accommodation at a bed and breakfast run by a Christian couple. Armed with their address, Griffin then urged a campaign of direct action against them.

Unsurprisingly, his actions caused a firestorm on Twitter and then in the media. Eight thousand people co-signed a HOPE not hate letter to Cambridgeshire Police calling for Griffin to be held accountable if anything happened to the couple.

If Griffin thought his actions would work to his advantage then he was clearly wrong. His threatening words were widely ridiculed and criticised in the media and only reinforced the impression of Griffin as an extremist bully.

Griffin's BNP is fighting on all fronts and as this magazine states elsewhere, he is also involved in a personal and political battle with English Defence League leader Stephen Yaxley-Lennon.

Angry at what he perceived was an unwillingness to confront Griffin by British Freedom Party leader Paul Weston, Lennon has resigned from the BFP during an off the cuff interview with the *Independent*.

During the interview, Lennon waxed lyrical how he had only an interest in the EDL and how the EDL was to become a political party and contest the 2014 European Elections.

Lennon was making this up as he went along and HOPE not hate has learnt that Kevin Carroll knew none of this when confronted by the *Independent* journalist.

Carroll, who is standing as a BFP candidate in the forthcoming Police and

Crime Commissioner elections meekly said that he was older and determined to follow a more political path.

It appears that Lennon has had his head turned by Paul Golding, joint leader of Britain First after two of Lennon's trusted lieutenants joined the group for an anti-Islam demonstration in central London during a rare public outing last month.

Golding was smarting from the decision by his political and business partner Dowson to enter into an agreement to raise funds for the rival English Democrats only days after the BF registered itself as a political party. With BF campaigning against devolution in Scotland and preparing to stand against Griffin in the 2014 Euro elections, Golding may well find himself deserted by Dowson who has always been more interested in lucre than legislative endeavours.

If Lennon viewed Paul Weston as unwilling to support him in his increasingly acrimonious battle with Griffin then he has no such fears with Golding. Like many of those who have fallen foul of the BNP leader in recent years Golding seems preoccupied in getting revenge and no doubt this tough talking has appealed to Lennon.

The British far right is in a state of flux and any number of outcomes is possible. The Brons network might finally get their act together and quickly replace Griffin's BNP as the principle nationalist group in Britain today.

Brons might prevaricate further and allow Griffin, whose main asset is the BNP brand name, time to recover and keep his dominant position.

Or perhaps Lennon will turn an off-the-cuff comment to turn the EDL into a political party into a reality. But this is doubtful.

British Freedom, Britain First and even the English Democrats appear to be going nowhere.

But maybe, just maybe, amid all the in-fighting on the far right, it will be UKIP who quietly take away the BNP voters. With the anti-EU party likely to dominate the 2014 European Elections, the next major electoral contest, there might not be any space for a political party of any significance to their right. ●

# FIGHT CLUB

**Matthew Collins** on the growing hostility between Nick Griffin and Stephen Lennon

**W**hen Nick Griffin was elected to Brussels as a British National Party MEP in 2009 he genuinely believed he was on the cusp of the big time. The party's membership had hit 14,000 and rising upwards of £1m a year in donations. The BNP, he believed, was about to break into the political mainstream and his cherished position as the standard bearer of the Right was unassailable.

How times changed. Three years later he was literally fighting for his political survival, only this time his opponent was not an internal rival but the leader of the English Defence League, Stephen Yaxley-Lennon.

Three months before Griffin's European election success an incident in Luton made national news headlines. A handful of radical Muslims caused a national outrage by protesting against a homecoming parade by the Royal Anglian Regiment.

The BNP used the Luton case politically as proof of the extremist attitudes of all Muslims but did nothing to organise opposition to Al-Muhajiroun's demonstration directly. That was left to a small group of Luton football hooligans, many of whom were actually former BNP members.

What began as a local campaign, called United People of Luton, was soon to go national and adopt the name English Defence League. Supporting them financially and tactically were a group of people who defined themselves as 'Counter-Jihadists', an alliance of Christian evangelicals and political activists who pronounced no time for the BNP's race hate but rather focused on the dangers of Islam.

Griffin quickly viewed the newly-formed EDL as a rival and in September 2009, while still basking in his European

success, launched his first attack on the group. Even though the initial EDL demos were relatively small they were attracting younger, more militant activists who had little time for Griffin's respectable doorstep politics. More worryingly, perhaps, was the soft support being offered to the new organisation by the *Daily Star*.

### Conspiracy

As is his way, Griffin enveloped his attack in conspiracy, describing the EDL as "Zionists", a state-sponsored honey trap to embarrass the BNP and draw activists away from their legitimate political activities. He told his members that in no circumstance could they get involved with the EDL.

Initially this position held within the ranks of the BNP, probably because they perceived the BNP as going places.

In May 2010, Griffin and the BNP were humiliated in the local and Westminster elections. Griffin was hammered in Barking constituency and the party was wiped out on Barking and Dagenham council, where it had been, until the election, the official opposition.

Suddenly, murmurings of internal discontent were becoming ever more vocal. Griffin responded to the electoral drumming by publicly promising to stand down, but privately he began a series of expulsions and witch hunts against his internal opponents.

Meanwhile, the EDL was going from strength to strength. Demonstrations were getting bigger and the anti-Muslim street group was all over the media.

In August 2010 a panicked Griffin was forced to turn his attention back to the EDL, as the group was planning a march and rally in Bradford. It was, of course, highly provocative and a march designed to stir up hatred and division in a city which had never really got over the 2001 riots.

Worried that his supporters would flock to the march, Griffin once again spoke out against the EDL but this time he tried to portray them as dangerous extremists.

"The English Defence League ... threatens to spark the mother of all riots in Bradford later this month" Griffin wrote at the beginning of August. Reminding his readers of the proscription of the EDL a year before, he continued: "to attend or to encourage attendance at any of its activities is a disciplinary offence".

His words fell largely on deaf ears and as the BNP descended into further agonising internal schisms, some former BNP organisers began taking up positions within the EDL.

Griffin was losing the argument and the EDL was rapidly emerging as the most important force on the British far right.

Divisions, however, had begun to emerge within the EDL. One of its rising stars was

John 'Snowy' Shaw, a Yorkshire activist who had earned almost legendary status within the group when he and another activist occupied an empty building in Dudley which had been designated as a site for a mosque.

Shaw eyed the EDL's lucrative commercial activities enviously and soon this motivated him to begin to agitate against Stephen Lennon and the southern-based EDL leadership.

Lennon responded by unceremoniously and violently bundling Shaw out of the EDL and forcing him to set up a rival group, The Infidels. This rift had its own debilitating effect on the EDL and soon it too was haemorrhaging activists and supporters. However, unlike the BNP's much publicised internal splits, the EDL's divisions attracted less media attention.



### Political aspirations

Stephen Lennon continually refused to acknowledge any personal or political aspirations. However, that began to change in the autumn when Lennon met Paul Weston, a former UKIP candidate and member of the European Freedom Initiative, during an otherwise disastrous trip to Amsterdam.

In the same month, some former leading members in the BNP split away to form the British Freedom Party (BFP). Weston was later to take over leadership of the party.

The fortunes between the two groups could not have been more different, publicly at least. In and out of court and employment tribunals in 2011 the BNP's troubles were becoming a national joke and the party continued its downwards spiral. EDL were themselves frequenting courts but mainly for their violent and criminal activities, but again this gained less media attention. The EDL was beginning to franchise its brand across Europe and accruing formidable international backing, while the BNP

was forced to survive solely on the incomes from its MEPs.

In February 2011, a robust Nick Griffin took the EDL to task again, this time at a Liverpool meeting. Swigging from a pint glass, Griffin told the meeting that the EDL was a product of both the national newspapers and the BBC to create a "phoney British nationalism" and a "safety valve" to discredit the BNP.

Griffin was facing the reality his organisation was going to have to play second fiddle to the EDL. Although the EDL's activist base was shrinking it remained dangerously active in fermenting confrontation and headlines. Griffin's BNP was no longer the bogey man of the left.

The Breivik massacre was a real turning point for the EDL. The public were rightly revolted by the senseless killings and the media, with help from groups like HOPE not hate, turned on the EDL. While some activists publicly supported Breivik's action many of their supporters, particularly their softer activists, drifted away.

The EDL had peaked and internal tensions were about to grow.

### Overtures

However, despite his aggressive anti-EDL stance, Griffin was not averse to supporting the EDL when he sensed a political opportunity. In September 2011 Griffin appealed to EDL supporters on BNPTv where he criticised the BBC for not drawing attention to Lennon's imprisonment for breach of bail over the EDL's disastrous foray into Tower Hamlets in East London.

Describing Lennon as a "significant but minor figure" in British politics, this was Griffin's overture to EDL activists to come over to the BNP, which in his words, was the only viable alternative.

Lennon, meanwhile, was getting bored with continuous demonstrations and had been convinced of the need to follow a more political route. In November 2011 he announced a formal tie-up with the British Freedom Party at an EDL organisers meeting in Walsall. Part of Lennon's thinking was that Weston would be able to deflect the constant Griffin attacks on him. In Lennon's eyes, not only was Weston educated and from a political background, his other mentor Alan

Ayling (aka Alan lake) was beginning to crack under extreme media scrutiny following the Breivik attacks.

The EDL's tie-in with Weston and continuing internal divisions were worrying Griffin but by now he was sensing that Lennon was also in trouble. Despite some pleas by BNP organisers for negotiations between the two groups, Griffin sensed an opportunity and decided to become robust in his criticism of the EDL leader.

Just before Christmas BNP and BFP supporters almost came to blows outside the court hearing of tube racist Emma West.

In February 2012 Lennon and Griffin were due to come face to face in Hyde, Greater Manchester, following what many perceived was a racist attack on a white youth by a group of local Muslim youths. The BNP called a national mobilisation but only managed 50 supporters for their morning activity as part of a campaign around child sex grooming and anti-white racism.

That same morning the BNP announced it had lifted the proscription of the EDL on the basis that the EDL had politicised "a whole new generation of quite militant patriots," but in Griffin's opinion it was now "fragmenting, producing the risk that they may drift away and be lost to the cause."

News of the lifting of the proscription found its way to Lennon as he made his own way to a 500-strong EDL demonstration set to take place in the same location some hours after the BNP were supposed to leave town. The EDL leader responded angrily to Griffin's overtures by ordering all BNP flags and banners removed from the EDL demonstration. From the stage, he personally told Griffin to "f\*\*k off".

Griffin retorted that Lennon was leading the EDL into an ambush by "3,000 militant Islamists", which of course was a blatant lie. Griffin, meanwhile, had travelled up to Blackpool where he spent the evening ingratiating himself with the EDL splinter group, the violently antisemitic 'Infidels'.

Lennon and his cousin Kevin Carroll formally joined the BFP as joint leaders on the morning of an undersubscribed return by the EDL to Luton. But of course the launch into politics did not go to plan.

Weston delighted his opponents by proving himself a political fool. During an interview with Michael Coren's Sun

News television, Weston insisted that the BFP would stand in every seat at the next General Election without knowing how many seats there were and also querying whether the House of Lords was an elected house.

### **Concerted attack**

He also proved himself politically naïve when he quoted findings (including our own Fear and Hope report) that there was room for a new anti-immigration party as long as it was not steeped in violence.

Internally, a lot of EDL activists were not impressed by Lennon's political move.

The gloves were now off and Griffin went on a concerted attack. He again took to twitter to describe the EDL and the BFP as a "Zionist front" and generally ridiculed both groups.

Lennon's response was to threaten a delighted Nick Griffin: "You ain't entering into a war of words with some politician," Lennon tweeted back, "I'll slap you".

Griffin and the BNP launched a series of further attacks on Lennon and Weston at the end of July, his patience wearing thin and his financial troubles alleviated by the death and bequest by a rich benefactor.

The BNP leader then released a 46-page report into the Zionist links of the EDL. Griffin portrayed Lennon as a puppet being exploited by external forces and even criticising him for purging dissent. More significantly, the BNP leader was playing to the far right gallery by linking the EDL leader to the Jews. In this, Griffin was returning to his more hardline antisemitic roots.

Griffin's delight was undisguised at the EDL's disastrous Walthamstow demonstration in September. As Lennon and co fled the scene of their greatest humiliation, Griffin took to social media to engage with EDL supporters. He had been right. Not only was London "lost" but the EDL activists on the ground had been deserted by their 'Zionist' leadership.

Videos of BFP leader Paul Weston standing glibly by while the local police laid down the law to the BFP/EDL leadership only further strengthened Griffin's hand. He (Griffin) was a politician; the EDL was a "street movement".

Attacking both the police and the establishment for Lennon's on the ground capitulation and Weston's own impersonation of a neutered Jack Russell, Griffin offered the battered and bruised EDL followers legal advice. For the first time in three years, Nick

Griffin was able to reassert himself as Lord and master again of the far-right.

A week later, Lennon himself responded by issuing a 40-minute video rant aimed at Griffin, the police and EDL members in what was supposed to be a call for unity. Lennon's sheer and desperate anger and Weston's almost complete silence, further highlighted Griffin's patience had paid off.

Griffin's own daughter introduced his "very important" response to Lennon's "hysterical video rant" with a 12-point plan in which Lennon is described as "a big girl's blouse!"

Griffin made clear that he believed the introduction of the BFP was a further part of a Zionist plot to undermine not just the BNP, but also the EDL. He talked of the EDL having opened up a "new front" but cautioned that despite a few of the EDL being capable of politicking, only he was able to offer them a way forward. With his "guidance and leadership" the EDL could morph into a more "effective movement".

It's similar language that Griffin used when ingratiating himself with the BNP in his early days, when he spoke of "well-directed boots and fists".

Desperate to salvage some credibility, Lennon announced that the EDL was heading back to Walthamstow, no doubt this time determined to be among his troops rather than behind police lines like had happened in September. Griffin, though, quickly dismissed the plan, describing the demo as "wet dream for the reds". For good measure he repeated his attacks on Lennon's Zionism but this time also claimed that the EDL leader was an Irish Republican, out to return to Walthamstow just to "save his porky bacon".

It would appear if Griffin currently has the upper hand and he knows it. Lennon, stung by these outbursts, is refusing to give up and part of his decision last month to leave the BFP was over his frustration of Paul Weston's refusal to engage in the fight against the BNP.

Griffin, meanwhile, has no intention of stopping.

"Contrary to the aim of Robinson [aka Lennon], Weston and their Zionist puppetmasters, the Defence Leagues should not be turned into electioneering machines. We've already got the British National Party for that, but the overall movement needs resistance to Islamisation and Establishment appeasement out there at street level as well."

In other words, as Griffin insists: Follow me as I will once again be King. ●

# English Democrats and their militant tendency

Matthew Collins

LAST MONTH HOPE not hate broke the story of how Jim Dowson, the former controversial BNP fundraiser, is now secretly raising funds for the rival English Democrats (ED). We also revealed that he had registered his own 'commercial rival' 'Britain First' as a political party.

The ED hopes that Dowson's fundraising skills will help them to make a serious challenge to the BNP's dominance on the right of British politics. Overtaking the BNP, the English Democrats believe, will allow them to break into the political mainstream.

Dowson becomes the latest person to switch allegiances from the BNP and to the English Democrats since the BNP's collapse in 2010.

Already Eddy Butler and Chris Beverly, two highly-rated former opponents of Griffin and skilful and talented electioneers, have made the move. Both are still employed by Andrew Brons, MEP, much to Griffin's fury. Butler and Beverly were also able to take large chunks of the Eastern and Yorkshire BNP membership with them.

Dowson, Butler and Beverly were central to the BNP's phenomenal rise during the last decade. Beverly helped mastermind the BNP's growth in Yorkshire, while Butler oversaw their electoral successes in Barking and Dagenham, Thurrock, Epping and Broxbourne. Dowson's frantic marketing and publicity machine is credited with raising both the funds and the party's profile for their European Election success in 2009.

While the BNP secured close to one million votes in these elections, the EDs ran a much smaller, cheaper and more low key campaign for fewer than 300,000 votes.

Also involved in the English Democrats is former Griffin protégé Mark Collett who is secretly designing election materials for the party. It's a talented if not temperamental quintet for the EDs to take onboard. In 2010, Collett was unceremoniously dumped by the BNP on election eve after Griffin accused his former friend of plotting to have him and Dowson murdered.

Time being a great healer and hard cash the cool reality, Butler and Beverly were soon convinced of Dowson's usefulness and brought him into the EDs to raise funds, primarily around a threat to sue Merseyside police after an English Democrat activist in Liverpool, Paul Rimmer, was arrested after an argument over the flying of a gay rainbow flag above a police station.

While Dowson's great motivators are cash and religion, an opportunity to help a rival to Nick Griffin's BNP was too good to pass up.

At the annual conference of the EDs held in St Albans in late September it was more than apparent that both Beverly and Butler are politically streets ahead of most of their fellow party members. And with 43% of ED candidates in last May's local elections having been in the BNP, the pair are forming an increasingly powerful block inside the party.

Beverly, in particular, clashed a number of times with party Chairman Robin Tilbrook during the conference, primarily on immigration and constitutional concerns. This caused some discomfort to long-term ED



Eddy Butler and Chris Beverly, two highly-rated opponents of Griffin

members who mainly have a penchant for Yorkshire pudding and real ale and not so much Beverly's taste for the far flung delicacies of far-right European politics.

No sooner had Dowson signed on to "help" the English Dems than large swathes of former BNP members and supporters began receiving the old Dowson-styled BNP style begging emails. Few at the ED's St Albans conference had any idea or any inkling of the changes almost being forced on the party from behind the scenes.

Despite his protestations to the contrary, it would appear that Tilbrook is becoming outmanoeuvred by these BNP renegades and his open clashes with Beverly were a reflection of this.

While a three-strong women's choir serenaded conference delegates over a roast beef dinner in the evening, and speaker after speaker seemed to busy themselves with anti-Scottish scaremongering and the regaling of tabloid style stories of anti-English sentiment by the British establishment, the two days the party spent in St Albans made clear to observers that the ED's traditional audience were stuffy middle-aged men and women.

Butler and Beverly's über-politicking and tinkering with ED policies are more confrontational and designed to appeal to a wider audience than many at the conference appear comfortable with.

Beverly in particular seems hell-bent on taking on the curse of English reserve.

# In the slammer

By Simon Cressy

POLICE ARRESTED 53 EDL supporters on their way to London with the intention of a surprise protest in east London in October last month.

The men were arrested close to Heathrow airport on the M25 motorway and on the M3 near to Bagshot, Surrey. It is believed the vast majority of them were in transit in the rear of a furniture removal van.

The 53, who included a number of EDL regional organisers, were arrested on suspicion of conspiracy to cause public nuisance and have been bailed until a later date pending further inquiries, according to The Metropolitan Police.

A police spokesman said: "This was part of an intelligence-led investigation into a planned disturbance in east London on that day."

Included in those arrested was Kevin Carroll, EDL joint leader and British Freedom deputy chairman. Carroll is also the BFP police and crime commissioner candidate for Bedfordshire. He was bailed until 30 November, a fortnight after the PCC elections.

The police have confirmed that one of the bail conditions imposed on the men bans them from entering east London to demonstrate for a stipulated period of time. This will include the return EDL demonstration to be held in Walthamstow the following Saturday.

The most notable arrest of the group was EDL leader Tommy Robinson aka Stephen Yaxley Lennon.

It is believed that this protest was designed to coincide with a similar action in France by the anti-Muslim groups, Bloc Identiteré, Generation Identiteré and Les Identiteré. Over the weekend 70 supporters of these groups scaled the roof of a still unfinished mosque in Poitiers.



Masked EDL supporters shortly before their arrest on the M25

They hung a banner over the side which read: "Immigration, building of mosques: Referendum!"

The banner also had a reference to '732', the year when Charles Martel was credited with stopping the advance of Islam into western Europe.

Lennon was initially arrested with the other EDL activists but was then later questioned and charged for possession of a false identity document with improper intention.

A Metropolitan Police spokesman confirmed that "The case relates to allegations that a man tried to travel to the US in September using another person's passport."

On 11 September Lennon spoke at the Stop Islamization of Nations conference, in New York. The event, organised by Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer, brought together some of the world's leading anti-Muslim activists.

Lennon spoke despite having been refused entry into the United States in 2010. He is believed to have entered the US through Canada.

Lennon appeared at Westminster Magistrates' Court and was remanded in custody to appear at Southwark Crown Court on January 7th. He is currently being held on remand at Wandsworth prison.

If the case is not contested under human rights legislation then Lennon could be extradited to the US by March.

The EDL along with British Freedom immediately cried foul play, claiming once again that Lennon was a "political prisoner" and that he has received a number of death threats from Islamic extremists whilst on remand. Simon Bennett of British Freedom claimed this was a "deliberate strategy by the authorities".

Never one to miss an opportunity, the EDL and British Freedom launched an appeal for funds to establish a "fighting fund".

In an amusing twist, British Freedom chairman Paul Weston claims he was arrested outside Wormwood Scrubs prison after he travelled to see the EDL leader. Weston asked prison officers the whereabouts of Stephen Lennon, but they refused to provide this information, citing the 'Data Protection Act'.

According to British Freedom, Weston was immediately arrested for breach of the peace arrested and bundled into the police van.

British Freedom later admitted Weston had made a gaffe by going to Wormwood Scrubs as Lennon is currently on remand at Wandsworth prison.

# HOPE not hate campaign success BNP lose EU funding

**Sam King reports on how the BNP have been hit where it hurts**

THE BRITISH NATIONAL Party is financially viable due to funding it receives from the European Union. But now, under a new ruling by the European Parliament, one source of funding has just been cut off.

In late September the European Commission's Vice-President Maroš Šefcovic announced new rules for the funding of pan-European political parties and their associated think-tanks. One of these changes now requires EU funding only to be given where parties and foundations observe the values of the European Union, "namely respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities".

The last part, on minority rights, is a new addition.

The BNP will now struggle to receive any additional EU money as they clearly don't respect human rights or equality.

These rule changes are a result of pressure first exerted by HOPE not hate after we learnt that the BNP, along with French and Hungarian fascist MEPs, were to receive €300,000 of public money to fund their political work. We immediately contacted British MEPs, who were unaware of this, and they

began demanding a rule change.

We also worked closely with a number of journalists to ensure that the funding scandal reached the maximum audience.

Glenis Willmott MEP, Leader of the European Parliamentary Labour Party, wrote to the President of the European Parliament expressing her unhappiness at the decision to award Nick Griffin and two other fascist MEPs €289,266 of EU taxpayers' money after the Alliance of European Nationalist Movements (AENM) was recognised as a pan-European political group.

In her letter, written on behalf of all Labour MEPs, Glenis Willmott described the BNP as "an extremist nationalist and xenophobic group that thrives on division and fear".

She asked how the AENM had met the criteria for funding this year when they had been refused in the past. She added: "And how can a group whose programme is in contradiction of the anti-discrimination articles of the Charter of Fundamental Rights and of those contained in the Treaties, be eligible for funding from the European Parliament?

"Indeed, the European Parliament regulations governing political parties states that they should uphold 'the founding principles of the European Union, namely the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law'. Is it the Bureau's assessment that the parties within this group now meet these criteria?"

She concluded: "It is very difficult to explain the Parliament's action to our voters and supporters. Such decisions do nothing to promote how Parliament is perceived in the UK."

The BNP was obviously hoping that their €100,000 share would become an annual payment into party coffers. They were also hoping to establish a think-tank to access even more money. That too should be stopped.

This is a significant victory against the BNP and one they can least afford as the party begins a fight for its very future against a new party to be formed by Andrew Brons.

We would like to pay credit to the MEPs who immediately took up the issue, especially the Labour MEPs who were willing to losing substantial funding of their own for a matter of principle.



# Grooming – an issue we

by Nick Lowles

**L**ate last month another nine men, of British-Pakistani background, were charged with sexual offences against young girls in Rochdale.

Coming only a few months after different nine men of the same background were convicted of similar offences in Rochdale the British far right must be rubbing their hands in delight.

In fact, there is little else they are campaigning on at the moment. But if we are to prevent the likes of the British National Party, English Defence League and National Front benefiting from this then we need to prove to the public that we are concerned about these stories of grooming by both gangs and individuals, and we are going to do something about it.

There are few more awful crimes than the sexual abuse of children. There are certainly fewer crimes that incite so much anger and hatred within our communities. Sexual assaults on young girls have been in the news recently with the unfolding Jimmy Savile scandal.

The Rochdale grooming case, which culminated in the conviction of nine men in May, highlighted a particular form of sexual exploitation of children called on-street grooming by gangs. Over the past few years there have been trials involving men from Leeds, Keighley, Blackburn, Sheffield, Telford, Derby and Nottingham, to name just some.

Paedophilia and sex abuse reaches across all communities and involves men from all ethnic backgrounds. The Ministry of Justice released figures in May 2012 which showed that 78% of people convicted of sex offences in 2010 were 'white' and 8% were 'Asian'.

However, when one studies people convicted of grooming

then the proportions change dramatically. Of the 1,217 people convicted of grooming between 1 January 2007 and 1 March 2011, 30% were identified as 'white', 28% were 'Asian' and 4% 'Black and Chinese'. The identity of 38% was unknown. That means that 45% of all convicted 'groomers' in which the ethnic identity is known are 'Asians'.

Now this total of 1,217 includes all types of grooming, including internet grooming, in which the perpetrators are overwhelmingly 'white'. For the particular offence of street grooming "there is very troubling evidence that Asians are overwhelmingly represented in prosecutions", Martin Narey the former Head of the Prison Service and Barnardo's told the BBC in May.

Of the 77 recent convictions for on-street grooming by gangs, 67 have involved men of Pakistani origin.

And this is not an issue which is going to go away. These latest

arrests in Rochdale are just one of a number of investigations currently underway.

## Honest discussion

The recommendations from Rotherham council's review need to be applied nationwide, but more needs to be done if we're also to prevent the Far Right from making huge political capital out of the issue. We can start by having an open and honest discussion about on-street grooming by gangs and specifically why people from the British Pakistani population make up the bulk of the perpetrators.

Unfortunately, too many people have remained silent for too long. Police and local authorities have been slow to protect these young girls. Leading figures in local Muslim communities have often been slow in speaking out on this issue, and in some cases simply dismissed it as Far Right propaganda. They have been

# cannot ignore



joined in this by some on the left, who have been too quick to try to silence any discussion.

While the perpetrators of on-street grooming obviously have a low opinion of the white girls they abuse, they have a similarly poor opinion of all females. Grooming has more to do with misogyny rather than specifically religion/race.

Some Muslim girls are also sexually abused but these cases are much more unlikely to be reported. "There is 'shame' within families of victims," says Mohammed Shafiq, of the Ramadhan Foundation. "Girls who are abused and violated are considered damaged and are unlikely to find husbands in the future. The shame means these cases are covered up and not reported."

Grooming has to be seen in the wider context of some men's attitudes to women, says Sara Khan, the Director of the Muslim women's human rights group Inspire.

Of the 1,217 people convicted of grooming between 1 January 2007 and 1 March 2011, 30% were identified as 'white', 28% were 'Asian' and 4% 'Black and Chinese'. The identity of 38% was unknown. That means that 45% of all convicted 'groomers' in which the ethnic identity is known are 'Asians'.

"As a Bradford-born and raised Muslim woman from the Kashmiri/Mirpuri community, I understand the cultural complexities. Let's be clear: it's not just white women that are viewed as inferior – many from these Pakistani rural villages believe all women are second class citizens. The culture of the conservative Kashmiri/Mirpuri community has at its root a deep-seated misogyny with the aim of controlling every aspect of a woman's life and reducing her into subservience."

The BNP and EDL would have you believe that grooming is a consequence of Islam as a religion but the facts do not back this up. There are millions of Muslims in Britain but overwhelming majority of perpetrators are drawn from one distinct section of the community.

It has as much to do with Islam as blaming Christianity for the abuse of children by Catholic priests.

Finally, too many progressive people normally quick to champion the cause of the oppressed have been too slow in accepting that this is a serious issue. Simply saying that all child abuse is wrong is insufficient and does nothing to tackle the problem or protect the victims.

We have all – collectively – let down the victims of on-street child grooming and in the process allowed it to continue for too long unchallenged. This needs to stop and stop now.

*Grooming has more to do with misogyny rather than specifically race*

Firstly, we need to accept that the vast majority of men convicted for on-street grooming by gangs are drawn predominantly from the British Pakistani community. To pretend otherwise is flying in the face of the facts and is deliberately erroneous.

We also have to accept that there are some cultural issues involved, not least in the negative attitudes some British Pakistani men have towards young white girls.

And we need to support the voices within the community who agree there is a problem. "They think that white teenage girls are worthless and can be abused without a second thought," says Mohammed Shafiq, who has done some fantastic work to raise awareness of this issue.

## A victim's story

When I interviewed 'Lucy', a young grooming victim from Keighley, in 2005, I learnt the full horror of this crime first hand. What really struck me was the openness of it all. Lucy was just 12 when she was groomed and at the time she genuinely believed she was in love with her 26-year-old boyfriend. But unlike other forms of paedophilia this was not a secret crime. In fact it was quite the opposite. She was driven around in her 'boyfriend's' car for much of their 'relationship', interacted with his friends and then, disgustingly, passed around family networks and friends.

Lucy was just one of 65 young girls who police believed were

victims of grooming in Keighley. Too many people knew it was happening but very few said anything. Nine men were eventually imprisoned but many more escaped justice.

Anyone who has listened to stories such as Lucy's cannot be anything but sickened by the crime and determined to everything in their power to prevent it happening to other young girls.

For too long too many people remained silent and those that did speak out were vilified.



The consequence of this silence was a break through by the BNP.

#### Villified

In 2004 the BNP won four council seats across Bradford on the back of a grooming scandal in Keighley, largely because they were the only political party making it an issue. Of course they distorted it and racialised it but they filled the vacuum left by others who preferred to stay silent.

A year later HOPE not hate took the issue head on when we made it central to our 2005 General Election campaign in Keighley, where BNP leader Nick Griffin was standing. We got Lucy's mother to speak out, both to throw some light on the issue of grooming but also to accuse the BNP of exploiting the issue for their own racial ends. She denounced Griffin for exploiting her daughter in the same way that she condemned the perpetrators.

Confronting the issue head on had an immediate impact. Suddenly there were others talking about it and the BNP lies and distortions could be challenged.

Nick Griffin ended up with just 9% of the vote, quite appalling given that they had been polling four times higher a year before.

It was an uncomfortable and difficult campaign, but it was the right thing to do. However, it was not universally popular. We were vilified from some quarters for addressing the issue of grooming and even accused of being racist by Unite Against Fascism.

Our only regret was not speaking out earlier.

#### Movement

People are now beginning to speak out about grooming and while that is to be welcomed a lot more needs to be done. It is good that society is condemning the actions of the convicted perpetrators, but addressing the wider issues involved and preventing further grooming is more challenging.

"In the early days the Asian

community thought the exploitation was all made up, just BNP propaganda," say Shafiq. "Then they realised that it was actually going on and they found it abhorrent.

"But they've still tended to ignore it in the hope that it would go away. I hope now that they're beginning to realise that they have to engage and there has to be more education about the whole issue.

"I think the [Rochdale] case could be a catalyst."

There are also some fantastic local projects going on which are making a real difference. The Council of Mosques has done a lot of work speaking out against grooming in mosques across Blackburn and, according to police, this has resulted in a large drop in incidents. In Keighley, there is a fantastic youth project which is educating young Muslims over the issue and again it appears to be having some real success.

Last month, Shaykh Ibrahim Mogra, the Assistant Secretary General of the Muslim Council of Britain, wrote a piece condemning grooming in the Sun on Sunday. He concluded: "We must assist

and co-operate with the police, social services and teachers in ridding our society of this evil."

It was a really important article.

To really tackle grooming from a small minority of the British Pakistani community we have to address the wider issue of misogyny. Muslim organisations could start by involving more women in their own networks. This in itself will help change the nature of the debate and encourage more women to speak out.

Everyone needs to be encouraged to speak out and report incidents of grooming. Creating a culture where grooming is totally unacceptable and not tolerated is perhaps the single most important initiative that can make a difference.

Councils and the police need to learn from previous failures, such as Rochdale and Rotherham, and take the issue more seriously and offer greater protection and support for victims because at the moment too many are failing already vulnerable youngsters. More needs to be done in schools to educate young people and offer services and support for those being targeted.

We should debunk the myth peddled by the BNP and EDL that grooming is simply a product of racism and Islam, but our words will fall on deaf ears if we do not back up our words with action.

Let us remember that grooming is paedophilia and the perpetrators have simply exploited a vulnerable group in society. While other groups of paedophiles might gravitate towards certain jobs or public spaces where potential victims will be found, these people have used their family and community networks for their own criminal ends.

Misogyny and sexual abuse cuts across all communities but this fact should not allow us to turn a blind eye to a particular manifestation of this problem.

This must stop and we, as anti-fascists and progressives, should not be afraid to speak out. There are going to be several significant grooming trials over the next year or two and if we continue to be too afraid to speak out then we are complicit in the on-going abuse of vulnerable young girls and we will only have ourselves to blame when racist groups benefit.

# Let's build on Olympics feel-good factor

**Britain became a nicer place during the Paralympics. As part of Hate Crime Awareness week, HOPE not hate interviewed Tanni Grey-Thompson**

**PARALYMPICS CHAMPION**  
Tanni Grey-Thompson, who was born with spina bifida, says discrimination against her as a disabled person came at a very early age:

"I have experienced a lot of

discrimination in my time, from originally not being allowed to attend a mainstream school from the age of 11 (which my parents fought and overturned), not being allowed in to cinemas etc to just the general discrimination that most disabled people face, such people treating me a bit differently," she said.

Tanni is the national flag-waver for disabled athletes and now uses her influence as a Baroness in the House of Lords to campaign on issues she feels strongly about.

But she does think attitudes are

changing, not least in part because of the legacy of the Paralympic Games.

"I think at Games time it was wonderful," she said.

"For both the Olympics and Paralympics people were a lot more open with each other and generally a bit nicer. However, I think that the real change is that a lot more people were able to see disabled athletes and think about what they could achieve rather than seeing them as benefit scroungers. I think it has given people a new perspective."

"The hard part is that it is hard to measure that feel good factor. I am sure that there will be some research done in this area in a few months time and I am sure that it has changed for the better for the perception of Paralympians, but I don't know whether it will have changed the perception of the public towards disabled people."

Tanni has spoken movingly how her parents encouraged her to forge a life for herself in spite of her disabilities, and to become as much a part of the able-

bodied society as possible. Her father refused to molly coddle her because of her disability or adapt the house, because he wanted her to be a fighter.

She said: "I do think that it is really important for society to make changes to become more physically accessible. There needs to be full access for everyone. My father made the decisions he did, because of how inaccessible everything was. He didn't want our house to be the only place that I could live etc. It did teach me to live with the lack of access that existed at the time. However, these days I do have a few more things to make my life a bit easier!"

In the Lords, Tanni has spoken on debates which effect disabled people, such as the Welfare Reform Bill or the Legal Aid Bill and takes every opportunity to ask questions and promote the work of organisations for disabled people.

She gave a special message to HOPE not hate for Hate Crime Week for people who have been victims themselves: "If you have suffered, then I would say that you have to report it. It is important that the wider public understand the extent of hate crime and that those who commit it are brought to justice." ●

For more information about Hate Crime Awareness Week and to read several other interviews and articles, please visit: [www.hopeandhate.org.uk/hate-crime](http://www.hopeandhate.org.uk/hate-crime)

# HATE CRIMES IN

**45%**

Only half of victims of hate crime thought the police took the matter as seriously as they should, compared with 65% of incidents of BCS crime overall.

**260,000**

The incidents of hate crimes identified by the British Crime Survey in 2011

**Re|Repeat repeat  
victimisation**

A third of victims of hate crime experienced repeat victimisation twice in 2011 and 18% were victimised three or more times.

TRANSGENDER  
**299**

DISABILITY  
**2,095**

ANTISEMITISM  
**438**

SEXUAL  
ORIENTATION  
**4,477**

FAITH  
**1,773**

RACE  
**35,875**

**Hate crimes  
2011**

source: ACPO

**THE UK**

**2**

**Number of Faith hate crimes recorded by Bedfordshire Police (which covers Luton, home of the EDL). It was only 1 in 2010.**

**A fifth**

**20% of victims of hate crime say they experienced some form of depression compared to 6% of all BCS crimes**

**Emotionally affected**

**Victims of hate crime were more likely than victims of BCS crime overall to say they were emotionally affected by the incident**

## Main findings

- **44,519 hate crimes recorded by the police in 2011 while the British Crime Survey identified 260,000 incidents**
- **A third of victims experienced repeat victimisation twice in 2011**
- **Only 45% of victims of hate crime thought the police took the matter as seriously as they should**

LAST MONTH we observed Hate Crime Awareness Week. It was a time to reflect on differing ways hate crimes manifest themselves, the victims and profile some of the organisations striving to limit and reduce the problem.

In this edition, HOPE not hate teamed up with over 20 different organisations including leading charities, victim support, the police and campaigning organisations.

There were 44,519 hate crimes recorded by the police in 2011 but this is only the tip of the iceberg. According to the British Crime Survey 260,000 people were victims of a hate crime, 0.5% of the adult population, with a third experiencing repeat victimisation twice and 18% three or more times in the same year.

There are five categories of hate crime: race, religion or belief, disability, sexual orientation and transgender identity.

Hate crime can have a really debilitating effect on its victims. The latest British Crime Survey report shows that victims of hate crime are more likely to suffer depression and other emotional side effects than the average victim of crime.

### Victims

In this specially designed website ([www.hopenothate.org.uk/hate-crime/](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/hate-crime/)) HOPE not hate looked at the state of hate crime in Britain today, discussed issues causing hate crime, under-reporting and efforts to help victims. Each day we uploaded a number of short articles by organisations dealing directly with victims of hate crime or more generally trying to reduce hatred in our society.



We also put up a daily discussion point and invited people to give us their thoughts on an issue.

We kicked off the week by calling on our supporters to send a Get Well message to Malala Yousafzai, the 14-year-old Pakistani girl who was shot in the head by the Taliban for campaigning for equal education for girls.

We felt that Malala should be a symbol of our resistance to hatred and that is why we want to let her know that we all want her to recover. One copy of the Get Well book was to be delivered to the Birmingham hospital where she was being treated and another to the Pakistan consulate.

As HOPE not hate went to press over 4,000 people had signed our Get Well book.

Hate can motivate the absolute worst of human nature and during the week we looked at the international dimension. From the Holocaust in WW2 to the genocide in Rwanda we carried articles to illustrate where Hate can lead but also the power of human nature to overcome.

The week ended with us reporting on a number of initiatives working to eradicate Hate within our society and in the process we will be promoting the work of several great organisations.

HOPE not hate is committed to building a society free of hate and organised intolerance. That is what we are all about. We cannot fight race hate and remain silent against other hatreds and that is why it is so important for us to support and promote Hate Crimes Awareness Week and work together with like-minded organisations.

[www.hopenothate.org.uk/hate-crime/](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/hate-crime/)

# Thurnby Lodge Forgotten estates

**Forgotten estates: far right extremists move into community politics by *Dave Porter and Owen Jones***

FAR-RIGHT EXTREMISTS looking to spread their message of hate are infiltrating community protest groups and hijacking them for their own political ends.

Leicester has become the latest battleground for extremists spreading messages of hate under the banner of community activism.

Self-declared racists from the EDL and BNP are hijacking sensitive community issues to their own ends – using them as a fertile recruiting ground while pretending to be non-political.

Through these means, large sections of the community who would normally shun such hate groups are being hoodwinked by racists looking to capitalise on and stir up local feelings.

In Leicester, a group calling itself the Committee for the Forgotten Estates of Thurnby Lodge and Netherall has been central in organising protests against a former scout hut in Thurnby Lodge being converted into a community centre by a Muslim organisation called As-Salaam Trust.

HOPE not hate has conducted an investigation into the activities of Forgotten Estates and uncovered direct links from organisers to groups such as the EDL and the East Midlands Infidels.

Self-professed EDL supporter Chris Hopewell was pictured handing over a 1,500-name petition to the city council over the issue of Thurnby Lodge scout hut, while local EDL Craig Elliott has also been spotted on marches organised by the group. EDL thug James Elliott – convicted of head butting a member of Leicester Unite Against Facism at a Love Music Hate Racism Festival – has also appeared at Thurnby Lodge protest marches.

BNP leader Nick Griffin has also tried to jump on the bandwagon by appearing at the marches in Leicester. In one of his

tweets about his visit to the estate, he talked about going on the “anti-Mosque march” and how “great it is to see English people stand up!”.

In another he boasts about “many buses and cars hooting support” adding “My speech very well received”.

Those on the ground, however, report a different story, with Griffin all but ignored by local residents.

Griffin also claimed on Twitter that following one march, Thurnby Lodge estate was “invaded by 50 Muslim youths plus carloads” and that “ladies from neighbouring estate warn that since it has got a prayer room they get sexist and racist abuse”.

The usual uncorroborated rumour-mongering.

Forgotten Estates has been openly provocative in its tactics. Marches to the Thurncoat Community Centre – where As-Salaam currently meets – have been routed to go past the house of its imam, Mohammed Lockhat. And it was even claimed that a cross on neighbouring Anglican Christ Church had to be covered up to protect the sensibilities of local muslims, something Canon David Monteith, the acting Archdeacon of Leicester, called a “malicious rumour” and “totally unfounded”.

Also witnessed taking part in protests against Thurnby Lodge have been members of Casuals United and Islamophobic group, 212 Poison.

Alistair Markland, head of Leicester HOPE not hate, says: “What is most shocking about the Thurnby Lodge case is the sheer length the EDL and other far-right groups will go to fabricate lies and myths about minority groups in the community. I think this issue should be seen as a warning against complacency for anti-racist activists, particularly considering the extent this issue has

spiralled out of control, even in the context of a wider perception of far-right decline.”

Members of far-right groups regularly use Facebook to boast of their activities and encourage other members of hate groups to join in the Leicester protest. The East Midlands Infidels are known for their flash demos against Muslim groups in the city centre, while other far-right groups active on the estate include the BNP and English Community Group (led by former BNP activist Clive Potter).

There is genuine anger among local residents on Thurnby Lodge estate over the issue, although when the council invited more than 100 groups to bid for the lease on the former scout hut, the only bid to meet the lease criteria was from As-Salaam. Residents have told the council they want the hut retaining for community use, possibly as the base for a boxing club.

The momentum created by Forgotten Estates has been helped by both Leicester City Council and ward councilors being caught off-guard by the strength of feeling about Thurnby Lodge scout hut.

In August, 400 residents took to the streets during Friday prayers to protest against As-Salaam taking over the hut (although they have later claimed it was against the Council). BBC footage shows many walking around in EDL tops. Lies were later spread that 50 Muslims attacked the demo and that the next-door pub would have to be closed on Fridays when the ‘mosque’ opens (sic Nick Griffin’s tweets).

A meeting planned on the issue in July by ward councilors was inexplicably cancelled although elected Mayor, Sir Peter Soulsby, has pledged to sit down with both sides to try and reach a compromise.

Councillor Luis Fonseca admits that the council and ward councilors have



Sir Peter Soulsby receives the petition from Kris Kott (left) and Chris Hopewell – Protest and petition handing over outside Leicester City Council offices about the Thurnby Lodge scout hut. Photo: Caters News Agency Ltd

been taken aback by the level of feeling on the estate, although he stresses that the council did everything correctly in terms of procedures. He also recognises that the residents' protest is in danger of being taken over by the far-right.

"It is worrying. These people should not be there, it is a matter between the residents and the councilors and council. That should not have happened – they are trying to use the protests as a tool for power," he said.

Much of the organising for the Thurnby Lodge scout hut marches takes place at the Stirrup Cup pub on the estate. Anger stems from people saying they were not consulted over the scout hut use, adding to an already existing feeling that the council does not care about residents on the estate. Landlady Maxine Williams has been quoted as saying that protests are not directed against Muslims but against the council.

In its petition to the council presented by Chris Hopewell, objections to use of the scout hut by As-Salaam were centred round the issue of car parking, a familiar and all-embracing tactic. Most members of As-Salaam live within walking distance of the scout hut and would not drive to use the building.

As-Salaam has been meeting in a nearby community centre for some time. Imam Mohammed Lockhat is on record as saying that he is willing to sit down and meet with any community representatives to allay their fears.

Because of the protests and marches As-Salaam have taken a defensive stance and are no longer making any public statements on the issue.

On its website, Leicestershire Community Voices – avowed supporters of the BNP – boasts of BNP activists turning up at ward surgeries to protest to "traitorous councillors" over the issue of the scout hut. They also boast about BNP activists turning up with placards and jeering members of As-Salaam as they leave the community centre.

One post which gives a clear indication of their intentions of hijacking the residents' cause states: "Local BNP members offered their support and advice to the organisers but agreed to keep the group non-political."

HOPE not hate has also uncovered evidence that similar protests in nearby Hinckley against a former police station being transformed into a community centre are being fomented by those with links to the BNP and EDL.

Protests over the conversion of the police station into a community hub have been gathering momentum, with the involvement of far-right elements who have taken their inspiration – as well as guidance – from Forgotten Estates.

Bosworth House Community Hub is set to take over the building next month. One of its uses will be as a meeting place for the Suyuti Institute which intends to hold weekend theology seminars on

different faiths including Islam, Judaism and Christianity.

Interestingly, the leader of Hinckley and Bosworth Borough Council, Councillor Stuart Bray, has complained to the local police authority about the sale of the station, claiming that neither the council nor the public were consulted and – similar to the Thurnby Lodge saga – citing issues of parking as an objection to its proposed future use.

While still in its early stages, protests against the mosque have included the police station being daubed with far-right posters protesting about sharia law being implemented, and a Facebook page set up called 'Hinckley People Against the Mosque' with racist comments, clear references to the BNP and 'joke' comments about the building being burnt down.

Well-known BNP/EDL supporter and Hinckley resident, who has in the past stood as a candidate for the BNP in local elections, also looks to be involved in the Bosworth House protests in the town, with Shore leaving a post on a Facebook page called 'Keep Hinckley Sharia Free, Say No to an Islamic "community hub". The Hinckley plans are a hot topic of discussion on the EDL Leicester division's Facebook page.

The implication is clear from what is happening in Leicester and Hinckley: far-right elements are using grassroots protests to further their own profiles, both as individuals and as groups.

# The Extremism of Innocents?

It was a plan hatched by one group of religious extremists to encourage and ferment a violent and hate-filled reaction by other extremists. And in the process it whipped up fear and suspicion between communities around the world.

**Nick Lowles** reports on how a 14-minute film was used by extremists to fan the flames of hatred.

IT SEEMS almost ridiculous that an amateurish 14-minute film, stuck up on the internet, could cause such a reaction in so many countries around the world. But so it happened in September, when extremists in the Muslim world reacted with anger and violence to the *Innocence of Muslims*, a film which portrayed Mohamed in an unflattering light.

The film was the product of four men in California – Steven Klein, Joseph Nasrallah Abdelmasih, Morris Sadek and Nakoula Basseley Nakoula – all well known within the US anti-Muslim circuit.

The film was first made in the summer but it was only when an Arabic version was posted onto YouTube in early September that it caught the attention of Sheik Khaled Abdalla, a fiery TV presenter in Egypt. He blasted the film and even showed extracts on his show, in the process giving the trailer the oxygen it needed.

A few days later an angry crowd stormed the US embassy in Cairo. On the same day a group attacked the US Consulate in Benghazi, killing four Americans, including the US Ambassador.

As the Muslim anger and violence spread the men behind the film were jubilant

How a 14-minute amateurish film triggered fierce reaction around the world

23 JUNE

The only known full screening of *Innocence of Muslims* is held at Hollywood's Vine cinema. Only a handful of people attend.

11 SEPT



- Protesters storm the U.S. Embassy in Cairo in protest at the film.
- Al Qaeda-supporter extremists attack the US consulate in Benghazi, killing four
- "Sam Bacile" tells the US media that he is an Israeli-American real estate developer and the film was funded by Jewish donors.

10 SEPT



- Pastor Jones announces that he will show part of the movie at his "Judge Muhammad Day."

8 SEPT

- Protests spread to Tunisia and Morocco.
- Bacile's story unravels. He is named as Coptic Christian activist Nakoula Basseley Nakoula with a long criminal history.
- Actors and crew from the movie say they were duped, and condemn the trailer, saying the film they made was a pre-Islam historical action flick, *Desert Warrior*.

19 SEPT



- A demonstration in Pakistan turns violent, leaving 19 dead. US government run TV adverts in Pakistan denouncing the film.
- Paris-based satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo published cartoons mocking the prophet Muhammad. In anticipation of a violent reaction the French Government shuts 20 embassies and missions across the Muslim world.
- Germany's interior ministry announced that it was postponing a poster campaign aimed at countering radical Islam among young people due to tensions caused by the online video insulting Islam.
- More protests in Nigeria, India, Bangladesh, Thailand, Iraq, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Greece and Turkey.

17 SEPT

- Pakistan's Railways Minister Ghulam Ahmad Bilour offers \$100,000 (£61,600) for the death of the American maker of an anti-Islam film. Pakistani Government say it is "inflammatory and inappropriate".
- An 18-year-old who threatened the magazine's editors on Facebook has been charged with terrorism-related activity, a judicial source told AFP news agency on Sunday.

21 SEPT



- A second screening of the movie is planned and, reportedly, aborted.

30 JUNE

2 JULY

- A YouTube user, "Sam Bacile," uploads "Muhammad Movie Trailer," the 14-minute clip that is all almost anyone has seen of the movie to date. It goes unnoticed.



2 SEPT

- Bacile uploads an Arabic-language version of the movie trailer to YouTube but quickly deletes it.

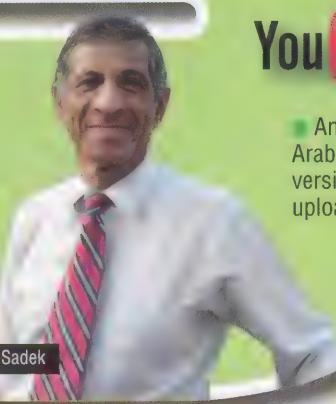
- A radical Egyptian television host Sheik Khaled Abdalla condemns the film and airs a clip from the Arabic version. Deny viewers flock to YouTube.



5 SEPT

- Morris Sadek, a Coptic Christian and anti-Islam activist from Washington DC, starts promoting the movie trailer to journalists and via social media, to coincide with Florida pastor Terry Jones' "International Judge Muhammad Day" on Sept. 11.

Morris Sadek



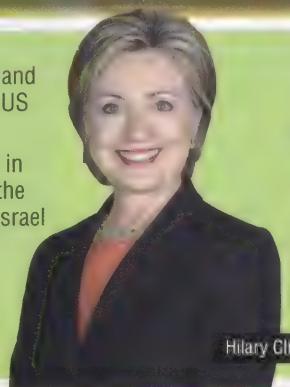
YouTube

- Another Arabic-language version is uploaded.

4 SEPT

12 SEPT

- Four protesters are killed and more than 30 injured at the US embassy in Sana, Yemen.
- About 400 people protest in Tehran, chanting "Death to the United States and death to Israel and death to England."
- US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton describes the film "disgusting".



13 SEPT

- One person killed and at 30 injured in protests in Lebanon.

- Hundreds try to storm US embassy in Khartoum, Sudan.

- In Egypt, al Qaeda-linked jihadist Ahmed Ashoush issues a fatwa against anyone who took part in the film.

- Protests have spread to over 20 other countries, many organised by hardline Islamist or Safalist groups. At least 10 people are killed.

- EDL leader Stephen Lennon declares that he will show the Innocence of Muslims film at EDL demo in Walthamstow.

- In Germany, the Pro Deutschland Citizens' Movement announces links to the film on its website and announces that it will show the film in Berlin.

16 SEPT

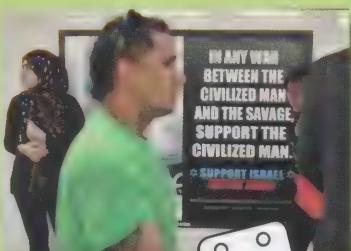


15 SEPT

- 150 arrested outside US embassy in Paris.
- Islamists demonstrate in Sydney, Australia



- Pam Geller's American Freedom Defense Initiative place adverts on New York subway which read: "In any war between the civilized man and the savage, support the civilized man. Support Israel. Defeat Jihad."



24 SEPT

- The LA Times reports that two more film-makers, both former Muslims, are preparing to make anti-Muslim films.

30 SEPT

"Do I feel guilty that these people were incited? Guess what? I didn't incite them. They're pre-incited, they're pre-programmed to do this."

In another interview, he admitted they expected the violent reaction that ensued.

The group issued a statement initially pretending the film to be the work of an Israeli Jew and financed by 100 Jews. This was clearly a further attempt to direct muslim anger at all Jews and fan the flames still further.

Unfortunately, there were many Muslim groups only too willing to respond to this provocation.

Many of the early demonstrations against the film were organised by hardline Islamist and Salafist groups only too ready to blame the entire US nation and bring in other issues.

The first demonstration to be held in London was organised by Anjem Choudary and his Al-Muhajiroun network. Only 150-strong, this pitiful event was followed a few days later by a bigger Hizb Ut-Tahrir demonstration, which was attended by 800-1,000 people.

Hardline Salafist and extreme Islamist groups were behind protests in France, Australia, Sweden and Denmark. In Lebanon they were organised by Hezbollah, while in Iran it was by pro-Government groups.

Extremist and violent demonstrations erupted around the globe and it would be easy to think that these represented mainstream Muslim opinion. This was not helped by some poor media reporting.

Perhaps the worst case was Newsweek, which ran a front page with the words 'Muslim rage', accompanied by a picture of a mob of screaming men.

A Guardian journalist called it: "Either a brilliant bid for attention (and readers) or one of the worst editorial decisions on recent memory."

Of course, only a tiny fraction of Muslims took to the streets in protest and of

these only a tiny fraction took part in any trouble.

In France, a country with five million Muslims, there was considerable media coverage of a demonstration outside the US embassy which led to 150 arrests. But only 250 people took part and these came almost exclusively from an extremist Islamist group.

The leadership of the French Muslim community urged their followers not to rise to the provocation of the film makers, a call almost universally observed.

Even after the publication of Mohammed cartoons by the satirical magazine, Charlie Hebdo, there was almost no reaction from French Muslims. "Something amazing happened yesterday", the most senior French Muslim leader told the media, after a day of protest went ignored. "Nothing".

Right wing muslim haters were quicker and more eager to react to the film. Some jumped to the defence of the film makers as though they were simply innocent victims of Muslim intolerance.

Others, like Daniel Pipes, believed that the answer to this violent Muslim reaction was to encourage media outlets to print photos and derogatory comments about Mohammed every day "until the Islamists become accustomed to the fact that we turn sacred cows into hamburgers".

And then there was the English Defence League, whose leader Stephen Lennon announced that he was going to show the film at a future EDL demonstration in Walthamstow.

His threat was repeated by an anti-Muslim organisation in Germany.

Provocative and insulting anti-Muslim rhetoric spurred Pam Geller to run a series of adverts on the New York subway system to coincide with the General Assembly meeting at the United Nations. "In any war between the civilized man and the savage, support the



civilized man. Support Israel. Defeat Jihad."

While most of these provocations were ignored by all except a few but the damage was done. Resentment and anger among Muslims was real and the scenes of violence across the world, coupled with the bounty offered by Pakistan's Railway Minister, only deepened a negative view of Islam and Muslims in the minds of many in the West.

Unfortunately, Western political leaders did little to help. While they moved quickly to denounce the film few challenged the wider Islamophobia and the negative portrayal of Muslims in society.

The overwhelming majority of Muslims ignored the film and got on with their lives, though little of this was

reported, unlike the violent demonstrations of a few hardline extremists.

While it would appear that the violent reaction to the film has subsided, the whole affair graphically shows how easy it is for feelings to be inflamed, often deliberately so.

More worryingly, the whole affair also illustrates the symbiotic relationship between Islamist and anti-Islamist extremisms. They feed off one another and need the other to justify their own existence.

The real danger is that this is only the start. On 30 September the LA Times reported that two more anti-Muslim films are in production. No doubt, across the world, hardline Islamists and Salafists are already planning their response.

**Steve Klein**



**STEVE KLEIN** is a Californian based insurance salesman who claims to have led a "hunter-killer team" in Vietnam and is known to have links to the extreme Christian right and the militia movement.

Klein has been pushing Coptic Christians, who he believes have a divine destiny to 'save' America, to join his anti-

Muslim crusade for years. In one essay he wrote, titled: "Why Are You Here in America," Klein compares secularism to an oppressive Islamist regime and said God guided Copts to America to help the country reclaim its supposed Christian roots. Klein has led many campaigns against mosques in California and he also organised demonstrations

against LA County Sheriff Lee Baca, whom he and co-organiser Joseph Nasrallah claimed was a dupe for Hamas.

Last year, Klein and Nasralla launched a "911 Defend Students Campaign," which consisted mainly of leafleting California schools with literature portraying the Prophet Mohammad as a sex-crazed paedophile.

#### ORGANISATIONAL LINKS

a board member and founder of Courageous Christians United  
He is affiliated with the Church at Kaweah  
Linked to the Islaophobic National American Coptic Assembly



Regular contributor to **Pam Geller's** Atlas Shrugs blog



Klein's activists promoted by **Robert Spencer's** Jihad Watch



**Morris Sadek** through the Islamophobic National American Coptic Assembly

**Joseph Nasralla Abdelmasih**



#### JOSEPH NASRALLA

**ABDELMASIH** An Egyptian American Coptic Christian, Joseph Nasralla Abdelmasih is the head of Media for Christ, the company who produced the Innocence of Muslims film.

Abdelmasih spoke at Pam Geller's and Robert Spencer's anti-mosque rally in Manhattan in 2010. The rally was organised to oppose the construction of the Park 51 Islamic center in lower Manhattan.

"Wake up America!" said Abdelmasih, to a crowd of flag-waving Americans. He said the mosque will be built "over my dead body."

# The men behind the Innocence of Muslims film



Spoke at numerous **Pam Geller** events



Works with **Brigitte Gabriel** and her ACT! Organisation



Spoke at the SIOA rally in Manhattan in Sep 2010, organised by **Robert Spencer**



Organised anti-Muslim student outreach effort titled 911 Defend Our Students with **Gary Cass**

**Morris Sadek**



#### ORGANISATIONAL

LINKS  
Runs the National American Coptic Assembly

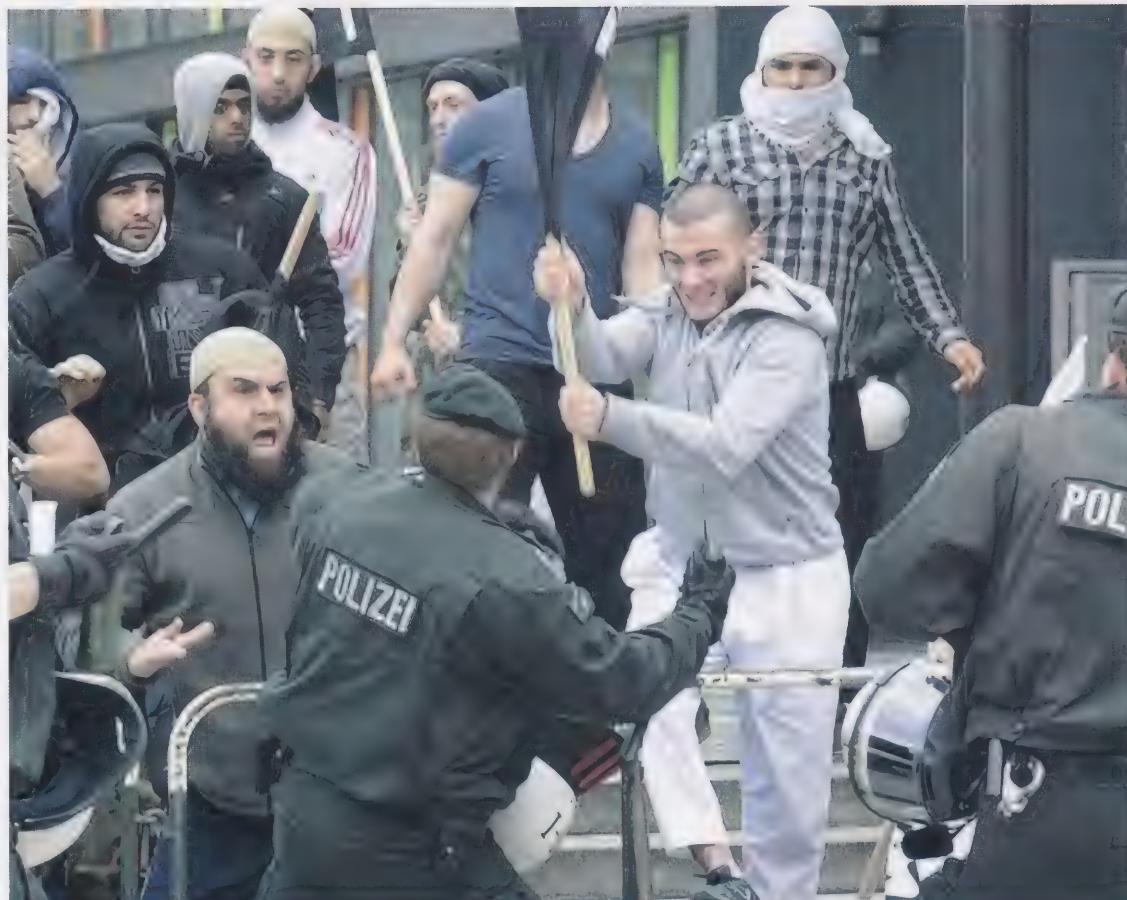
# Two sides of the

**Maik Baumgärtner in Berlin discusses how extremist Islamist and anti-Islam ideologies are taking hold in Germany**

RADICAL SALAFISTS have been a major headache for the German state this year, knifing police officers, organising information stands across the country and massively spreading their hate-filled ideology and propaganda on the internet. Reacting to the challenge, the authorities have responded with police raids and bans on Islamist groups, a situation that has prompted Islamophobic organisations to rack up tensions.

When the trailer of the cheap-production film *Innocence of Muslims* was distributed on the internet, it sparked global turmoil with worldwide protests by Islamist militants, attacks on Western embassies, deaths and serious injuries. While Islamists used this dismal film as an excuse for violence, the anti-Islamic mob quickly leapt onto the controversy to defend their one-sided "freedom of expression".

In Germany, there are numerous far-right organisations, parties and blogs that are racist, discriminatory and Islamophobic, a good example being the so-called pro-Germany Citizens' Movement (Pro-movement), founded in 2005 and with



several hundred members.

Recently, Germany's Interior Minister Hans-Peter Friedrich (CDU) condemned its announcement of plans to show *Innocence of Muslims* in full and invite the American Islam-hating preacher and Koran burner, Terry Jones, to Germany. "We will have to deal with that with all lawful means," he told *Der Spiegel*.

Representatives of Muslim organisations and groups are at odds on how to tackle planned screenings of the film. While some are calling for a ban, others say banning only Islamophobic groups will sidetrack debate about animosity to Muslims in Germany.

Unimpressed, the Pro-movement is going ahead with its plans to screen the film later this year, causing Islamic

extremists to publish murder threats on the internet.

The radical group, Global Islamic Media Front (GIMF), for example, has published a document claiming that the actor playing

the Prophet Muhammad in the film is German.

## Populist

Since early this year, both the radical Islamists and their right-wing populist opponents have featured regularly in the media and are being closely watched by the state. Friedrich has already taken repressive steps against violent Salafists in Germany. In June his ministry outlawed the 'Millatu Ibrahim' association and launched investigations into the 'DawaFFM' and 'True religion' groups. According

to Friedrich, Millatu Ibrahim was banned for calling for "the active struggle against the constitutional order".

Raids in seven federal states, involving almost 850 police officers who seized documents, computers, storage devices and mobile phones, accompanied the ban. Parallel with this action, over 100 foreign internet providers were asked to shut down websites of the relevant groups.

It did not take the radical Salafists long to react to the raids, the founder of Millatu Ibrahim issuing a statement blasting democracy as "filth dirtier than pig shit" and promising his followers would fight on.

The security authorities estimate that there are around 4,000 Salafists in Germany, several hundred

# same coin



of them violent, according to Islamism expert Claudia Dantschke. The internal security service is certain that the Jihadist wing of the Salafists has ideological proximity to Al Qaeda and links with its international network of affiliated groups.

Salafist extremists in Germany are well networked. They have mosques, associations and financial supporters and are very active on the internet, spreading propaganda and videos. Recruitment is based primarily on young men who serve as role models for youth and young adults. One of these is the former gangster rapper Deso Dogg, who, today as Abou Maleeq, makes German-language Nasheed music.

The second most prominent representative and



figurehead of 'True religion' after Ibrahim Abou Nagie is the convert Pierre Vogel, a former boxer. Vogel has developed into one of the most important figures on the convert scene, appearing in countless videos and speaking on Islam, presenting converts or making statements.

In Bonn 29 police officers were injured and over 100 Salafists arrested in an incident. Two of the police were seriously injured with stab wounds.

### Islamophobic

The clashes with the police were in part a reaction to election campaigns by the Islamophobic right-wing populist party Pro-NRW which has staged rallies and displayed the infamous Muhammad cartoons by the Danish illustrator Kurt Westergaard at more than 20 mosques.

When these cartoons were first printed, angry protesters in Muslim countries protested violently at Danish embassies. Provocatively, Pro-NRW then started an "anti-Islamic"

cartoon competition with a prize, named the "Kurt Westergaard Prize", of €1,000, for the most courageous (or brazen) submission.

Since the recent outbreaks of violence, Pro-NRW has become a recurring theme in Jihadist and Islamist internet forums. In mid-May, the 'Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan' (IBU), a militant Islamist organisation operating in the Afghan-Pakistan border area, published an audio message entitled 'Death to Pro-NRW'. On the broadcast, a native German Jihadist, Yassin Chouka urges the deliberate murder of Pro-NRW members.

Individual politicians belonging to mainstream parties have also advanced radical solutions. One such is Hans-Jürgen Irmer, the Christian Democrats' deputy parliamentary leader, who has called for deportation of all violent Salafists. At the end of May, a Turkish-born Salafist who had allegedly called for armed struggle in a videoclip was ordered to be deported.

Claudia Dantschke, one of Germany's foremost experts on Islam, believes the deportation gives out a false signal, making the radicals more popular. "But if now general, all-inclusive, expulsions and restrictions are required," she said, "they [the extremists] will be all welded back together." Therefore, she suggests, young people and Muslim communities must be integrated into community networks as a matter of urgency and priority.

Violence, fundamentalism, racism and discrimination have no place in an open society. The authorities and democratic society have a duty to proceed against radical Salafists (and those inciting anti-Muslim hatred.) For this, not only the state but also mosques and Islamic associations are required and, for all the criticism of the anti-democratic Salafists, nobody should lose sight of the likes of Pro-NRW and the growing anti-Muslim sentiment in the country that must be tackled.

# Call for religious genocide

Eric O'Neill, in Washington DC, on the Call to 'wipe out Islam' by Counter-Jihad extremists



(left) SION World Freedom Congress, September 11, 2012 New York: Pamela Geller opens proceedings with Cliff Kincaid (Accuracy in Media) (left) and David Yerushalmi (American Freedom Law Center) also on the podium.



ON 11 SEPTEMBER, as millions mourned the human toll of the religious extremism that occurred on 9/11, about 100 'counter-Jihad' leaders representing the US, Australia, England, Denmark, India, and Israel gathered in New York City.

Their goal: to further an international campaign vilifying Muslims and Islam. Their bigotry has no boundaries, the half-day conference included attacks on the reproductive rights of women, the scapegoating of mainstream journalists and calls for religious discrimination in US immigration policy.

The event, called Stop Islamisation of Nations, was hosted by American anti-Muslims Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer.

John Bolton, former US ambassador to the United Nations, had been scheduled to kick off the gathering but failed to turn up. According to the organisers, Bolton was allegedly unavailable due to his work for the Mitt Romney presidential campaign. This left Cliff Kincaid of the hard right Accuracy In Media to set the mood for the afternoon.

Kincaid, a SION board

member, recently found himself in the middle of a national controversy for quoting Jared Taylor, of the white nationalist entity American Renaissance, in an AIM article. This was after Kincaid admitted grudgingly that American Renaissance promoted the pseudo-science of "racial differences" a year earlier.

## Free speech

Kincaid's talk focused on attacking the liberal media for its critiques of the counter-Jihad movement. Reinforcing that extremism, Kincaid launched an attack on *Al Jazeera*, musing out loud: "Are these foreign terrorist entities? Let's open a hearing to see if these stations are!"

He called for federal hearings to undermine *Al Jazeera* right to free speech as guaranteed by the US constitution.

Speaker after speaker decried attacks on "freedom of speech and religion" while hypocritically telling audience members that Muslims should not be able to build mosques to worship.

American anti-Muslim leader Robert Spencer,

whose writings directly influenced Anders Behring Breivik's murderous rampage last summer in Norway, introduced many of the presenters. He sat quietly as Dr Babu Suseelan used rhetoric eerily reminiscent of the 1920s and 1930s Nazi propaganda, warning that Islam was a threat because "Muslims will breed like rats." Suseelan, an associate of the American Freedom Alliance, continued to tell the audience that "Islam can be stopped. It can be wiped out!"

During his disturbing speech, he called on the audience to "join together to wipe out Islam." Ironically, Suseelan ended his speech by saying that "freedom loving people should join together to do so."

Neither Geller nor Spencer sought to clarify or rebuke Suseelan's blatant call for religious genocide. In fact, Spencer laughed at the remarks while Geller merely covered her face. Mordechai Kadar called on Western women who were not Muslim to "start having babies." This was identified as the most important tool in the counter-Jihadist handbook.

Other speakers at the gathering included Kevin Carroll of the English Defense League, Paul Weston of the British Freedom Party, the Discourse Institute's George Igler, New York State Senator David Storobin, and the Dane, Anders Gravers, of Stop Islamisation of Europe.

## Conspiracy theory

An additional speaker, Lars Hedegaard of Denmark, announced the launch of a new international counter-Jihadist newspaper in an attempt to sidestep mainstream newspapers and television which he accused of biased reporting.

The newspaper, called the *Dispatch International*, features the racist-inspired conspiracy theory that Barack Obama was not born in the United States. Hard copies of the newspaper were abundant at the conference. Other articles attack multiculturalism and scientists warning of climate change.

Tommy Robinson, of the English Defence League (EDL), warned that "one day our leaders will be brought to justice for aiding and abetting the Islamisation of

# Trade Union Friends



## HOPE not hate

(below) (left to right) Tommy Robinson (EDL), Robert Spencer (Jihad Watch) and Pamela Geller



England." The EDL received resounding endorsement from conference host Pamela Geller who downplayed the proven charges of racism and violence that surround the organisation.

Last December on 7 December 2011, EDL activist and ex-soldier Simon Beech received a 10 year sentence for his participation in an arson attack on a mosque. In days preceding the SION gathering newspapers reported that a member of the EDL would be removed from his military duties because he was part of a group of EDL members who physically attacked a 2011 music benefit opposing racism in Leeds.

None of this fazed Geller who introduced the EDL and Robinson declaring that they were boys she could work with. Kevin Carroll added his voice by declaring the British Freedom Party as "the political party of the EDL."

In the aftermath of the anti-Muslim shooting massacres in Norway and the United States the, 'counter-Jihad' movement is still busy cranking up the irresponsible rhetoric that can incite further murderous extremist violence.



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**PLEASE RETURN TO: HOPE not hate, PO Box 67476, London NW3 9RF.**

# Out in the Wilders-

**Jeroen Bosch for Alert! in Amsterdam on the Geert Wilders's crushing defeat in the Dutch elections**

The Dutch Freedom Party (PVV) and its notorious leader Geert Wilders met their first defeat since the establishment of the party in 2004 in September's parliamentary elections.

The elections saw the PVV's share of 150 seats plunge from 24 to 15. Some political analysts buried the rise of right wing populism in the Netherlands with this defeat, but the Freedom Party is still the third party in parliament and has a 10-strong representation in the Senate.

Wilders admitted defeat and blamed the race between the two potential prime ministers Mark Rutte (from the right-wing liberal VVD) and Diederik Samson (from the social democratic PvdA) for his losses.

The truth is that Wilders could not make a difference in the campaign. In earlier campaigns, he has managed to dominate and steer the debate around themes like Islam and integration. In this one he switched the focus to his anti-Europe-agenda and voters found his message too radical.

### Cutback programme

What also didn't help was the image of quitter that stuck to Wilders when he left the negotiations with the government he had previously supported. The Freedom Party was at the centre of power for 18 months without having to take responsibility of governing. Wilders surrendered this unique position when he failed to agree with a new cutback programme.

When the campaign started, Wilders was away on holiday during the first TV debate and later cancelled a televised discussion with his biggest opponent in parliament, Alexander Pechtold of the liberal democrats D66.

Wilders' slogans and provocations during the rest of the TV debates just sounded old. The launch of a so-called *Blackbook* on the Islamic Ramadan landed on dead soil, as well as his proposal to deport refugees from the Netherlands to camps in Romania.

It remains possible that the Freedom Party can reinvent itself after this defeat but its future now seems to be in the margins of opposition.

There is also the party's bizarre structure. People who work for the Freedom Party have to agree in their contract not to speak about the internal policies of the Freedom Party, or face a €25,000 fine.

### Finances

Wilders trusts very few people and his trustees run the party with an iron hand. Members of the PVV's parliamentary fraction are censored or silenced and the party is still totally dependent on donations.

When the PVV asked the London-based finance house Lombard to conduct research on the costs of the Euro to the Netherlands, they got more than €13,000 from the European Parliament. A commission of the European Union is now investigating the party's finances.

It also came to light during the election campaign that some of Wilders' ideological allies in the USA donated money towards the costs of his trial for inciting hatred. Daniel Pipes, of pro-Israel think-tank Middle East Forum, sent money directly to Wilders' lawyer Bram Mosckowicz, also currently under investigation for unregistered cash gifts to his office. Hero Brinkman, Wilders' erstwhile right-hand man, who left the party in April, told the media that there had been a "briefcase from the US with around 75,000 US dollars in it".

David Horowitz, of the David Horowitz Center and the online *Frontpage* magazine, paid Wilders for two speeches in the US; one in Los Angeles and the other at the Temple University of Philadelphia in 2009.

When students called for protests at the latter, Horowitz paid the Philadelphia police force \$1,500 for security and also paid hotel bills for the group of Dutch heavies accompanying Wilders on his US tour.

The financial support for Wilders from

the US was dealt a blow when former PVV foreign affairs spokesman, Wim Kortenoeven, on a tour of the US warned conservative and pro-Israel groups about Wilders. Kortenoeven, who left the party in July, said Wilders is in favour of a ban on the ritual slaughter of animals.

What was achieved by the PVV during its 18 months in power? They were able to set the agenda with their ideas about Islam and continue to insult Muslims and minorities in the Netherlands.

The continuing attacks on the state of law, on the rights of suspects in court, on the Muslim headscarf, on mosques, on minarets, on the Koran and on people with dual nationality, gave many people the feeling that they are second-class citizens.

And what of the PVV's political handiwork? In October 2010, Wilders launched an ambitious agenda: 50% fewer non-western immigrants, a speed-up of asylum procedures, a ban on wearing the burqa, and the criminalisation of illegal migrants.

None of that was achieved. Stronger European rules on immigration found no majority in the rest of Europe, but stronger rules on family reunification, only for partners and children under 18, were put into effect. It also became easier to extradite criminal foreigners.

On law and order, the PVV failed to get its plans for minimum sentences for recidivists implemented and a proposal for a 500-strong "animal cops" squad was routed out. The single real achievement of the PVV is an extra 12,000 nurses in nursing homes.

It remains to be seen how Wilders and his party will develop, but the hope is that other parties have been able to wriggle free from the deadly hug of this particular bunch of odious right-wing populists. ●

-ness



## SPAIN

# Spanish far right fail to exploit anti-austerity measures

**Sandra Cortés** in Madrid gives an overview of the failures of the far right in Spain

DESPITE SPAIN'S appalling economic, political and social situation the Spanish far right has done little beyond hold a demonstration of several hundred people in Madrid under the slogan 'Against Democracy'. Earlier efforts to infiltrate the trade union demonstration in Valencia in May, and the half-a-million strong welcome of the march by striking coal miners in Madrid in July having failed miserably.

They try to ape the messages of the anti-austerity 'Indignados' but have not managed to climb aboard protests or, like the Golden Dawn nazis in Greece, exploit the crisis.

The creation of a National Revolutionary Action Network (ANR) in September to encourage nationalists and members of the various parties to attempt to take

part in mass protests has not solved this problem.

Spain does not have far-right MPs in its parliament. This is because, after General Franco died in 1975, the Spanish extreme-right underwent a long fragmentation process.

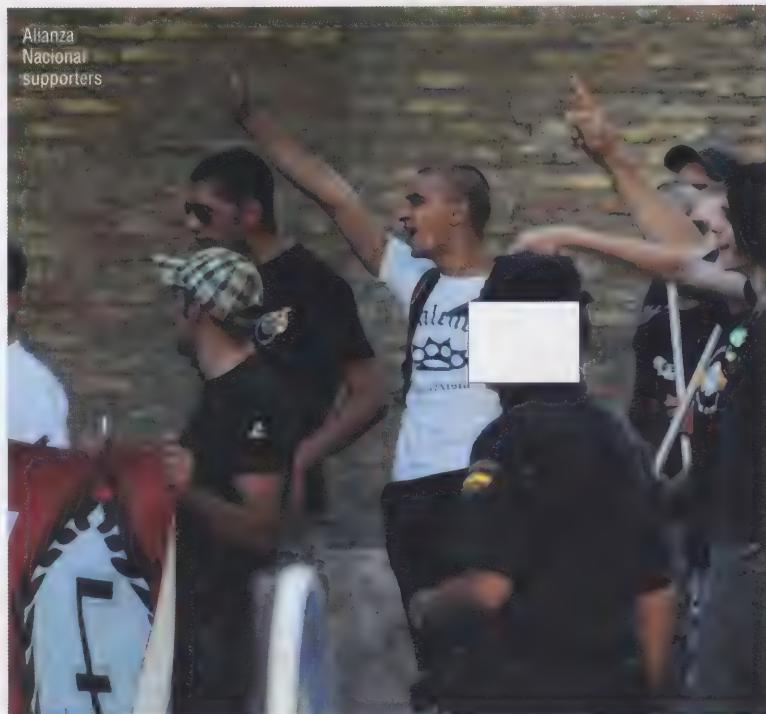
### Fragmented

Although post-Franco fascist murder gangs acted with security forces' complicity during the 1980s, no group emerged to grasp Franco's legacy. It was only in the mid-1990s that the extreme-right appeared in the shape of the National Democratic Party (DN). Since then, Spanish extremists have been trying to adopt the style of their European counterparts, avoiding references to the Franco dictatorship and posing as democrats. Nevertheless, the presence

of nazi and fascist activists in their ranks haunts them.

Their weakness is

attributable to the bitter rivalry between the leaders of Spanish far-right groups



## SPAIN KEY FACTS

### Parties

- **Platform for Catalonia (PxC):** Islamophobic and anti-immigration party launched by former New Force member Josep Anglada in 2002. In 2011, the PxC won 67 town council seats with almost 75,000 votes. Only established in Catalonia.

- **España2000:** Nationalist, xenophobic and Islamophobic party launched in Valencia in 2002 by José Luis Roberto. In 2011, it won four council seats in three Valencian towns and one in Alcalá de Henares. One of its Valencian councillors is implicated in the Nazi armed group, the Anti-System Front.

- **Republican Social Movement (MSR):** A Nazi party founded in 1999. Led by Juan Antonio Llopis, owner of nazi publication New Republic. MSR members have been convicted for belonging to the illegal Blood&Honour organisation.

A member of the AENM, it has no elected representatives.

- **National Democracy (DN):** Established 1996 and led by hate-music singer Manuel Candela, a member of Radical Action, banned in 1995.

- **Regeneration:** A new populist ultra-liberal party, launched by fascist journalist Enrique de Diego in 2011.

- **Falange Española de las JONS:** Created in 1933 by fascist Primo de Rivera. An organisation responsible for numerous murders during the Civil War, Francoism and years of Transition (1975-1982). Stands in elections but got only 6,431 votes in 2011 parliamentary elections.

- **National Alliance (AN):** Nazi party established in 2006 and active in Madrid and Andalucia. Pedro Cuevas, the killer of anti-fascist Guillem Agulló, was an AN election candidate in 2008.

### Other Organisations

- **Ultras Sur:** Nazi hooligans from Real Madrid FC. Connected with Hammerskins and with Nazi splinter group Vieja Escuela Madrid.

- **Acción Nacional Revolucionaria (National Revolutionary Action):** Set up in 2012 by autonomous Nazis and fascists from all over Spain as a 'third force' against capitalism and the left.

- **Fundación Francisco Franco:** A foundation dedicated to praising and promoting the late fascist dictator. It receives money via ruling Popular Party.

- **Manos Limpias (Clean Hands):** A right-wing populist outfit dedicated to opposing progressive legal measures. This organisation helped prosecution of judge Baltasar Garzón investigating murders under Franco.

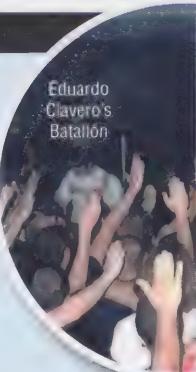
### Key Figures

- **Ricardo Sáez de Ynestriillas:** Fascist son of a fascist general murdered by ETA. Involved in the killing of a leftist and Basque separatist MP. Jailed 2001 for attempted murder.

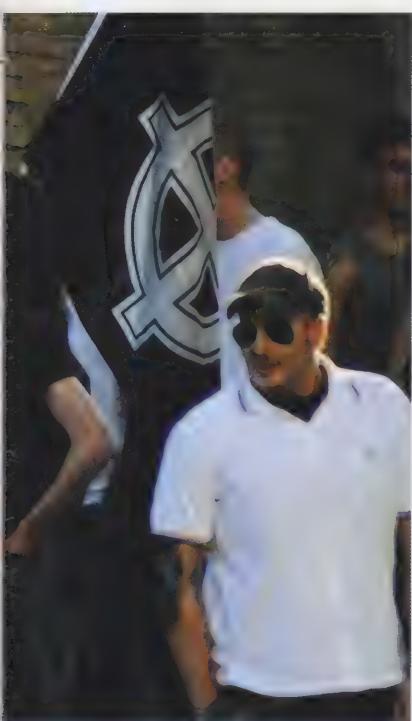
- **Eduardo Clavero:** Singer of the hate-music band Batallón de Castigo; ex-AN member convicted for murder in 1989. Awaiting trial for hate lyrics.

- **José Luís Roberto:** Leader of España2000, linked with banned nazi Acción Radical and with the fascist 'union' CONS.

- **Yolanda Couceiro:** Leader of España y Libertad, a nationalist and right-wing organisation, and wife of fascist Santiago Fontela founder of armed Falange Vasca group in 2002. Owns Minuto Digital online newspaper.



that leaves the fascist scene fragmented. While the main competitors to win those of an authoritarian, racist and anti-working class mindset in Madrid remain small like the Republican Social Movement (MSR), National Democracy (DN) or España2000, in Catalonia the picture is different. There, Plataforma per Catalunya (PxC), led



by Francoist activist Josep Anglada, managed to win 67 council seats in regional elections.

With an Islamophobic, anti-immigration agenda, Anglada succeeded in recruiting former Nazis and fascists. Some of these like Carles Francisoud, who attacked abortion clinics and left-wing and separatist organisations, have convictions for terrorism. Anglada has been personally involved in several incidents ranging from an assault on a youngster to an attack on his own son. In a 2002 TV programme Anglada confessed to being a fascist who would reintroduce the death penalty if he came to power.

España2000 and has councillors in Valencia and in Alcalá de Henares near Madrid. The party is the personal property of businessman, José Luis Roberto, associated with the outlawed Nazi group Radical Action. Roberto also is involved in the prostitution business through his association of brothel owners (ANELA) – a business generating huge

sums of money – and owns a security company, Levantina, infamous for employing thugs.

### Revisionist

The National Democratic Party is España2000's rival and members have been involved in attacks on each other. Led by a former member of the Nazi band División 250, Manuel Canduela it has ties to Golden Dawn and the Nazi Hungarian Jobbik party.

The Republican Social Movement (MSR) tends not to contest elections and has no elected representatives but belongs to the Alliance of European National Movements along with Nick Griffin's BNP, and is linked to the Lega Nord in Italy. Several of its members were convicted of membership of the banned Nazi



Plataforma per Catalunya (PxC), leader Josep Anglada

Blood & Honour organisation in 2010. Its leader, Juan Antonio Llopis, runs the New Republic publishing firm which produces work by fascists and Holocaust-deniers.

Other important emerging elements of the extreme-right spectrum are 'new' media like *Alerta Digital* or *Intereconomía*, basing their message on Islamophobia and a revisionist version of Spanish history. Right-wing journalist Enrique de Diego launched a new party called Regeneration with a populist message last year met.

The crisis fuelling of aspirations for Catalan independence has caught the attention of Spain's traditionally right-wing army which has threatened to intervene if the region declares independence. In a chilling warning, serving army colonel Francisco Alaman declared to *Alerta Digital*: "Independence for Catalonia? Over my dead body...and those of many soldiers." ●

[www.antifeixistes.org](http://www.antifeixistes.org)

### SPAIN VIOLENCE MAP

**Madrid:** Nazi clothes and music shop, Soportes Sonoros, shut down (May 2012)

**Navarra and Basque Country:** Terrorist attacks against Basque separatists and anti-fascist memorials by Falange y Tradición (2008/2009)

**Navarra and Basque Country:** Terrorism – 23 murders – against Basque separatists by state-terrorist GAL murder gang 1983–1987.  
**València:** Nazis murdered anti-fascist Guillem Agulló, 1993.

**Madrid:** Nazis murdered anti-fascist Carlos Palomino murdered, 2007.  
**Barcelona:** Librería Europa (CEDADE) holds Holocaust denial conferences and distributes Nazi propaganda.

**Madrid:** The Valley Of Fallen, Francoist rally held annually.  
**Madrid:** Almudena Cemetery, annual homage to Nazi Condor Legion.



**Madrid and Barcelona:** Police raids on Hammerskins (banned 2010)

**Barcelona, Madrid and Zaragoza:** Police raids on Blood & Honour (banned 2009)  
**València:** Terrorist Nazi Anti-System Front members raided by police in 2005 – still awaiting trial.

**València:** Over 20 fascist bomb attacks between 2006 and 2010 – no suspects detained.

**Mallorca:** 4 October 2012, would-be Nazi bomber, 21, arrested and 140kg of explosives seized foiling planned bombing of the island's Balearic University.

### Media

**Intereconomía:** Right-wing TV station: anti-leftist and close to the conservative Popular Party.

**Minuto Digital:** Online newspaper launched by Yolanda Couceiro.

**Alerta Digital:** Radical nationalist, anti-Muslim and anti-leftist.

# The Andrew Brons network

LAST MONTH, Yorkshire and Humber MEP Andrew Brons resigned from the British National Party claiming mistreatment from Nick Griffin and the party hierarchy. As HOPE not hate goes to press plans for a new political party are set to be unveiled and this is likely to attract large numbers of former BNP members, including leading organisers, and other extremists to the right of the party.

The fall-out between Brons and Griffin are organisational disputes rather than political differences. If anything, the new party will be even more extreme. It will remain embedded to racial nationalism and total opposition to a multiracial society. Only last year, in a radio interview, Brons described the English Democrats' "courting of multiracialism" as the primary reason he opposed their party.

The new party will include some of Britain's most hardline racists, antisemites and

Holocaust deniers. It will be BNP mark II but more toxic.

The new party will be fronted up by Brons. Around him will be former BNP organisers and activists, small and hardline groups such as England First and the Democratic Nationalists and a number of former National Front activists who were prominent in the 1970s and 1980s.

Its strength will initially be in the North East, Yorkshire, East Midlands and London, though it is likely to quickly attract other disillusioned BNP members from across the country.

Some former BNP members who are unlikely to join are Eddy Butler and Chris Beverley, the party's former national organiser and Yorkshire regional organiser. While both continue to work for Brons in his capacity as an MEP, both appear to be opposed to a new racialist party and will stay in the English Democrats.

Another person mulling over whether to join will be Richard Edmonds, John

Tyndall's former deputy and now a leading figure in the National Front. Edmonds is a hardcore nazi, so any involvement from him will clearly demonstrate the true nature of Brons' new party.

Brons' group will be expected to contest

some of the forthcoming parliamentary by-elections but really look towards next year's county council elections to stamp their mark on the British far right.

Nick Griffin's BNP is in serious trouble though his party has the recognised brand name.



## ANDREW BRONS - A PROFILE

■ Despite his attempt to reposition himself as the elder statesman of "British nationalism", Andrew Brons, a quiet, grey haired former college lecturer, has a long track record of racist political activism stretching back over four decades. He came of political age as a teenage member of Colin Jordan's National Socialist Movement (NSM) an organisation founded on Hitler's birthday in 1962.

■ In 1965 NSM activists conducted a campaign of arson against Jewish property and synagogues. Brons failed to condemn such activity, however. In a letter to Mrs Jordan on 15 June 1965 Brons wrote, after making contact with a fellow NSM activist: "... he mentioned such activities as bombing synagogues. On this subject I have a dual view, in that although I realise that he is well-intentioned, I feel that our public image may suffer considerable damage as a result of these activities. I am however open to correction on this point."

■ Mrs Jordan has no such scruples. She was jailed in 1967 for her part in the arson campaign.

On 3 July 1965 Brons had sent her money "for a badge (black swastika etc.) and... for a copy of the Horst Wessel song." The correspondence also made clear that he was about to undertake a "crash programme" of publicity for the NSM in Yorkshire by deluging areas with Nazi stickers, posters and slogans.

■ Brons subsequently joined John Bean's British National Party (BNP) and then, upon its inception, the National Front (NF). His ascent through the party ranks was rapid and in 1974 he was elected to its National Directorate. Two years later Brons became NF Education Officer in which capacity he was concerned with the structure and ideology of the NF, hosting seminars on racial nationalism and trying to give their racism a more "scientific" basis. When John Tyndall resigned as NF chairman in March 1980 Brons, his vice-chairman, was promoted to the top job.

■ In 1984 Brons was convicted of behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace and fined £50 following an incident in Leeds. He and a fellow NF activist were arrested while selling

papers in a shopping centre as part of a group shouting slogans such as "Death to Jews", "White Power" and "National Front". When approached by PC John Raj, Brons stated: "inferior beings like yourself probably do not understand the principle of free speech." His fellow defendant had added: "Don't mess about black man. Who do you think you're talking to?" (Yorkshire Evening Post, 1 May 1984)

■ The NF soon became engulfed by a vicious split and Brons, who had resigned as party chairman in 1984, soon found himself the object of a smear campaign, much of it orchestrated by Nick Griffin who was then a leading political soldier and who accused Brons of a range of crimes including that of being a "state agent". Thereafter, Brons disappeared from view for almost 20 years before publicly reappearing in the BNP in 2006. He was elected as BNP MEP for the Yorkshire and Humber region in 2009.

## LEADING SUPPORTERS



**Adrian Davies:** A former member of the Monday Club, Tory Action and London Swinton Circle, Davies has flirted with the extreme far-right in this country since the 1980s.

In the 1990s he joined up with some BNP rebels to form the Freedom Party. A barrister by trade, Cambridge-educated Davies has registered a new political party in April 2011 in what would appear to be a premature move to align with Andrew Brons's rebels.

Davies was personal secretary to the Holocaust denier David Irving during the early '80s. In 1983 Davies was sharing a flat with Italian neo-Nazi Roberto Fiore, and Michael Walker editor of Scorpion magazine.

**Steve Brady:** Stephen John Brady is a veteran nazi and former Vice-Chairman in the National Front. He has also been linked to the Loyalist paramilitary group, the Ulster Defence Association. He was also a founder member of the hardcore nazi group the League of St George in the 1970s and became its international liaison officer.

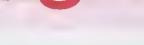
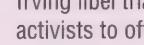
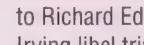
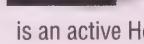
He once described the Italian fascist Ordine Nuovo as: "Basically neo-fascist urban guerrillas whose main activities are machine gunning Red marches, blowing up Red offices, car bombing of Reds, assassination of leading Reds and good clean fun of that sort."

### James Lewthwaite:

Former Bradford BNP councillor and now leader of the Democratic Nationalists. He studied archaeology at Cambridge University and later went on to teach and research at Bradford, Lancaster and Sheffield Universities. Lewthwaite was exposed in 2004 as a publisher of books which glorified Hitler and Nazi Germany.

### Peter Rushton:

Rushton is one of Britain's leading Holocaust deniers and has links to nazi groups across Europe and antisemites in the Middle East. He was previously involved in the BNP but was expelled by Nick Griffin in 2002. He is currently deputy editor of Mark Cotterill's magazine Heritage and Destiny and regularly speaks at National Front, British Movement and RVF events.



# Police commissioner

**The forthcoming Police and Crime Commissioner elections should be a perfect opportunity for a right wing party to cause an upset. A low turnout and dog whistle law and order politics could see all manner of strange results. But, as *Simon Cressy* reports, that is unlikely to be the case.**

IF A MONKEY could get elected as Mayor of Hartlepool and an English Democrat as Mayor of Doncaster, one would have thought that right wing law and order candidates would be falling over themselves to stand in the forthcoming Police and Crime Commissioner elections.

But that is not the case.

As nominations close there are very few right wing candidates contesting these elections. UK Independence Party has 24 candidates, the English Democrats has six candidates and the British Freedom Party just one.

That means that there are no British National Party candidates standing anywhere in the country. So much for Nick Griffin's claims that the BNP is Britain's fourth political party.

The biggest hurdle right wing groups found was the £5,000 deposit, which given the fact that the Government refused to allow candidates a free mail shot made standing a more unattractive proposition.

For a party like the BNP, which has no money and virtually no activists to spread their message, the huge deposit proved a killer.

But Nick Griffin pointed to one more reason when announcing the BNP's decision not to contest the elections, namely that too many of their leading members were convicted criminals and given the tight rules governing these elections were not allowed to stand.

Most attention will now focus on Kevin Carroll, the deputy leader of the English Defence League who is standing for the British Freedom Party in Bedfordshire. Carroll will be hoping to use the EDL's base in Luton as a platform for a respectable vote.

Carroll and the other right wing candidates are very unlikely to win but given that the main parties are talking about a turnout of just 10% anything is possible.

HOPE not hate profiles some of the candidates.



## ELLIOTT FOUNTAIN (English Democrats) Lincolnshire

Elliott Fountain is currently an English Democrat councillor on Boston Borough Council, representing the Fenside ward.

Despite Elliott Fountains and The English Democrats strong views on immigration, it is rather ironic he is listed as a company director and operations manager of Latvian Labour Limited, a now dissolved company specialising in bringing in immigrant Latvians into the Boston area.

He is also, according to a BBC video, a landlord who owns several properties in the Boston area that he rents out to immigrants.

Fountain appears to like a large number of "erotic" Facebook pages such as "Sluts" "EroticaUK" and "Bikini Babes".

He also "likes" the Facebook page "British Friends of Golden Dawn", the Greek hardline nazi group, along with pages by the EDL.

He has described Muslims as "Goat ragging backward rats" on Facebook and posted controversial comment on Facebook condemning Winston Churchill's actions in WW2, saying we should have never have gone to war with Germany, describing it as a conspiracy.

He has also advocated the taking of the drug Ecstasy, which some might consider a strange policy for someone wanting to run a police force.



# Follow the Police and Crime Commission

# elections

## KEVIN CARROLL (British Freedom) Bedfordshire

Luton-based Kevin Carroll is the joint leader of the far right English Defence League and is deputy chairman of British Freedom, a far right political party, started by disenchanted and expelled BNP members.

He is the cousin of EDL leader Tommy Robinson, aka Stephen Yaxley Lennon.

Carroll signed the nomination papers for Robert Sherratt, BNP candidate, in Luton in 2007 who was also an activist in the tiny nazi group, the November 9th Society.

In 2009 Carroll was convicted of a public order offence for hurling abuse at Muslims protestors at the Poachers' homecoming parade through Luton. He subsequently lost an appeal against the conviction.

As joint leader of the EDL, Carroll has presided over several violent demonstrations and seen the imprisonment of over 100 of his supporters. This appears at odds with his strong law and order position he is taking for these elections.

He recently announced: "British Freedom and EDL share the same ideology and have been working together since May. I'll be representing British Freedom, which is the political wing of EDL."

Carroll is closely linked to Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer, the two New York-based anti-Muslim activists who were behind the recent posters on the New York subway which likened Muslims to "savages".

In 2011 Carroll and Lennon scaled the headquarters of FIFA in Zurich in protest over the ban on the England football team having embroidered poppies on their shirts. The pair was arrested when they came down from the roof after four hours, and were fined £2,300 and had to pay £700 court costs. They were also jailed for three days according to Carroll.

He racist, Carroll often posts offensive comments and jokes on his facebook site, including: "What's brown and black and looks great on a Pakistani? A Doberman."

## BILL ETHERIDGE (UKIP) West Midlands

Bill Etheridge is a showroom manager in a home improvement shop in Upper Gornal, Dudley, where he claims to be on the minimum wage.

He is elected governor of the Dudley group of hospitals and is also a school governor at Northfield Road school in Netherton. He is also the Black Country co-ordinator of the Campaign Against Political Correctness and right wing The Freedom Association.

Previously a member of the Conservative party, Etheridge was embroiled in controversy when he and his wife, both prospective Tory councillors, were forced to leave the party after posing with a toy golliwog on Facebook.

Golliwogs appear to be his thing as he has written a pamphlet on political correctness adorned with images of black doll.

More recently, he has just been condemned for his part in a sick thread posted on Facebook regarding paedophile Jimmy Savile.

## GODFREY BLOOM (UKIP) Humberside

Godfrey Bloom is the UKIP MEP for the Yorkshire and Humber Region. He was first elected in 2004, and re-elected in 2009.

Bloom is the president of The European Alliance for Freedom, a collection of far right MEPs and politicians within the European Union. Among the Alliance's members are Andreas Möller and Franz Obermayr (Austria, FPO), Philip Claeys and Peter Kleist (Belgium, Vlaams Belang), Marine Le Pen (France, Front National), Krisztina Morvai (Hungary, Jobbik) and Kent Ekerot (Sweden, Sweden Democrats).

Bloom is a highly controversial figure, who has admitted to speaking in the European parliament under the influence of both drink and drugs.

In 2004, hours after taking his European seat Bloom told the media: "No self-respecting small businessman with a brain in the right place would ever employ a lady of child-bearing age." He also said he wanted to deal with women's issues because: "I just don't think they clean behind the fridge enough".

He added: "I am here to represent Yorkshire women who always have dinner on the table when you get home."

In the same year Bloom was accused of sexual harassment after he invited a group of female students to Brussels. Rebecca Bowtell, from Cambridge University, claimed that she witnessed the MEP "sexually harassing a number of women, and making a constant stream of sexist and misogynistic remarks."

In 2006 he confessed to visiting brothels and declared that, far from being exploited, most prostitutes "do it because they want to". He added that he used to visit brothels as if he were going for a curry following an after-work drink.

More recently, in 2010, Bloom congratulated the French for bombing the Greenpeace ship the Rainbow Warrior, prompting outrage from an environmental group which has accused him of "celebrating" the death of a Dutch photographer killed during the attack.

Also in 2010 Bloom was ejected from the European Parliament after directing a Nazi slogan at a German MEP as whilst speaking during a debate. Bloom interrupted the MEP and said "Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer"

Bloom has stated that if he is elected he would like to abolish the concept of hate crime and says he would not prioritise dealing with crimes against victims from cultural or social minorities over any others.



## PAUL RIMMER (English Democrats) Merseyside

Paul Rimmer has done the political rounds. He was a member of the BNP for years but before that he was also a member of the Labour party and the Militant Tendency. He later joined the Conservatives.

He was the English Democrat mayoral candidate in Liverpool in 2012.

Rimmer was arrested last May for a homophobic hate crime (Section 5 Public Order offence) after he objected to a Liverpool police station flying the pro-gay rights rainbow flag to mark the International Day Against Homophobia.

He later announced he planned to sue the police for flying the flag.



# Celebrating success, but planning for the future.

**Ruth Smeeth on a HOPE not hate night at Labour Party conference**



Kevin Maguire and Eddie Izzard

THE SUCCESS of the HOPE not hate campaign hasn't been achieved by a handful of people in an office – it's been accomplished by a committed group of people in every part of the UK, from local community activists to national celebrities and journalists. Together we have realised a huge amount, from defeating the BNP in Barking and Dagenham to making a stand about Hate Crime.

The nature of the threat that we all strive to defeat every day is constantly changing, which means that we have to be ever vigilant. Always focused on tomorrow and the next challenge rather than taking the time to sit back and celebrate what we have already achieved.

In Manchester, the HOPE not hate team joined with some of our closest supporters from across the labour movement to rectify the situation! Over 100 people from every part of the HOPE not hate campaign took a few hours to enjoy a fabulous curry and a drink or two.

While campaign war stories were a common theme, we also united to discuss the new threats and what we can achieve by working together. The *Daily Mirror* has been working in partnership with the HOPE not hate campaign for five years so it was only appropriate for evening

to begin with a few words from the *Daily Mirror*'s Kevin Maguire. This was followed by a short speech from the new editor of the *Daily Mirror*, Peter Willis, who promised their continued support to the HOPE not hate campaign.

A highlight of the evening was hearing from Eddie Izzard, one of the original HOPE not hate patrons, about the on-going fight. Eddie was in fine form as he thanked HOPE not hate for organising the Olympics and bringing the country together. He spoke about the passion of the Olympic volunteers and how this proved that ordinary people will always come together in hope and not hate.

This year we were delighted that a range of supporters formulated their role with HOPE not hate and became our patrons. Not only was Eddie at the event, but we were also joined by two of our other patrons, writer/broadcaster Fiona Phillips and chef Simon Rimmer, as well as our newest patron Baroness Glenys Kinnock and her husband Neil!

We would like to thank the *Daily Mirror* and Unions Together for their on-going support and we look forward to continue to work with them.



TV presenter and journalist Fiona Phillips



# Antisemitism is also racism

ALMOST 500 people in the North East of England co-signed a HOPE not hate letter to the chief executive of Newcastle United and the Chief Constable of Northumberland Police to voice their concern over what appeared to be a very lenient punishment

handed out to a Newcastle fan after blatant antisemitism against visiting Spurs fans in August.

This fan decided to abuse visiting fans by repeatedly giving a Nazi salute and motioning with his hands as though he was turning on the gas, a sick reference to Hitler's gas chambers.

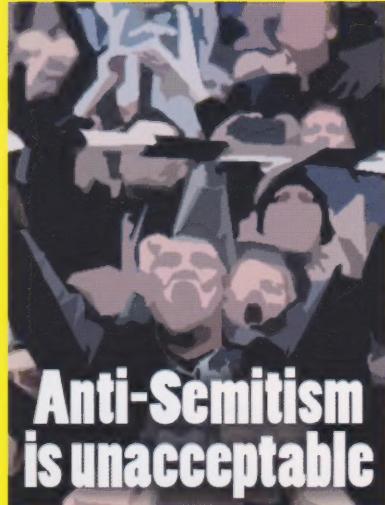
This man obviously thought that his antisemitic abuse was funny. Fans around him did not and to their great credit they made a complaint and later identified the culprit to the police. The man was arrested and immediately admitted to his actions. The police and the club's head of security promised tough action.

Job done, or so we thought.

So you can imagine the anger of the fans who complained when they learnt that the antisemitic bigot received a caution from the police and has only been banned for the next three games.

We felt this was not good enough and sent the wrong message out, especially because Newcastle banned two teenagers for three seasons for sending racist tweets. We actually felt this case was worse. For someone to pretend to turn on taps to signify the gassing of Jews demonstrates a deeper political understanding and hatred.

We might not be able to extent this antisemite's ban but we hope that our letter will send a clear message to the police and the club that we expect more from them in the future.



## HOPE not hate in Sweden

HOPE not hate's Nick Lowles and Graeme Atkinson spent three days in Sweden in September as the guests of our sister organisation, EXPO.

Much of the focus of the trip was discussing HOPE not hate's campaigning work with Sweden's trade unions. We gave presentations to a conference of Metall members, Sweden's strong metalworkers union, and the following day we had a more informal meeting with the leadership of Byggnads, the Swedish Building Workers' Union.

On the third day EXPO organised a meeting of all trade unions to both hear about the work of HOPE not hate but also to discuss plans for greater collaboration between themselves. The right wing Swedish Democrats are an increasing force in Sweden, both at a national and local level, and there is clearly a desire to develop a campaign along the lines of HOPE not hate.

A discussion about campaigning was also held at the EXPO board meeting, at which Nick and Graeme gave a presentation.

But as usual for these sorts of trips, there was a two-way exchange. EXPO is already doing some fantastic work with some Swedish trade unions and their more general educational work is excellent and there was much for us to learn.

## HOPE not hate in Scotland

MORE THAN 30 people attended a HOPE not hate meeting in Glasgow in September with the result being the formation of a local HOPE not hate group.

The driving force behind the meeting was Glasgow TUC but it is also actively supported by Unison Scotland.

While the far right is currently marginalised in Scotland there is still activity to confront. The meeting decided to establish a HOPE not hate group and carry out some more general anti-racist campaigning.

## Working in Unison

HOPE NOT hate's Nick Lowles ran two sessions at North West Unison's political school in Blackpool in September on the current state of the far right and emerging threats.

Among the topics discussed were increasing violence from fascist groups, workplace anti-racism and child sex grooming.

The event was also an opportunity to begin a discussion about ensuring Nick Griffin is defeated in the 2014 European Elections.

Two weeks later Nick addressed Unison's policy committee along the same lines. While the far right appears divided and demoralised, thousands of people have been radicalised through groups such as the British National Party and English Defence League and many are increasingly become active in more localised community politics.

There was an overwhelming desire to continue the strong working relationship between Unison and HOPE not hate.

# Evil Dawning



Members of extreme right party Golden Dawn celebrate holding flares in the northern coastal city of Thessaloniki after Greece's general elections June 17, 2012.  
Photo: © Grigoris Siamidis / Reuters

**Maria Margaronis** is a respected journalist who writes for *The Nation* and also contributes to *The Guardian*, writing on Greek issues. She talks to *Dave Porter* about the rise of Golden Dawn and how austerity measures a political power vacuum are encouraging hate crimes.



### What are your personal experiences of the far right in Greece?

ABOUT 10 YEARS AGO I STARTED SEEING graffiti in Greece saying 'Golden Dawn', which opponents used to change to 'Golden Eggs'. It was something that we all knew about, but they first started to become more powerful I would say in the last three or four years, when the country experienced a large influx of migrants and refugees. That combined with the crisis has created the backdrop for Golden Dawn's rise. They began attacking people who looked foreign, staging pogroms in Athens to clear migrant from neighbourhoods.

### Why has Golden Dawn attracted such popular support among the electorate?

If it wasn't for the economic crisis and austerity programme this would not be happening. Also, people are totally disillusioned with the two mainstream parties that have alternated in government since the fall of the dictatorship in '74, who they see as responsible for driving the country into its current state. Golden Dawn plays on that very effectively and present themselves as the only pure party.

A lot of people voted for them as a kind of reaction. The phrase I heard used before the last election is: 'I want Golden Dawn in parliament to beat the others up', even from people who have traditionally voted left. But now people are supporting them more consciously.

Golden Dawn are getting more exposure, they are opening up offices in towns all over Greece, because people have reached a point of despair and humiliation and helplessness. They are conducting a concerted campaign to fill the gaps left by the state, such as the food banks for Greeks only, blood banks for Greeks only and now jobs for Greeks only. They've started going round to factories in their black T-shirts, counting the number of foreign workers and "suggesting" to the owner that they should employ more Greeks. They also operate as a vigilante force, with considerable support in the police.

We have reports of the police passing

on the number for Golden Dawn if people, for example, have a problem with immigrants squatting in their house. A team of Golden Dawn heavies will turn up and clear them out.

### What can you say about the attacks on immigrants and gay people by Golden Dawn supporters?

The attacks on immigrants are becoming more open and more frequent. Recently Golden Dawn tried to shut down a theatre showing a play that depicts Christ and the apostles as gay. There was a lot of violence, and the director's life was threatened. The police did nothing.

Golden Dawn MPs participate in these incidents. In September, MPs led groups of blackshirted men into street markets where migrants were trading and trashed the stalls of those they considered illegal. Again, no arrests were made.

*“Golden Dawn are getting more exposure, they are opening up offices in towns all over Greece, because people have reached a point of despair and humiliation and helplessness”*

### Is this a sign that civic society and the legitimacy of the state is collapsing?

There has always been a vacuum in Greek civil society. Its democracy has always had weaknesses. There is an old far right tradition in Greece which began in '36 with the Metaxas dictatorship. Then we had the occupation where there was a fair amount of collaboration with the Axis forces. Then the civil war between the left resistance and nationalist forces, followed by 30 years when the left was effectively outlawed and the Colonels' junta of 1967-74.

But Golden Dawn is further to the right than that. The junta did not praise Hitler and did not use the kind of neo-Nazi symbolism Golden Dawn favours.

### What is the support base for Golden Dawn – is it the working class or middle class, or both?

It's mostly lower middle and working class, but not only. Quite a lot of their support is among young people. There is a lifestyle spin to it with young people going to the gym and pumping iron and the hardcore music that goes with it.

### What role should Europe play in helping to stem the rise of groups like Golden Dawn?

I think we have to take very seriously the fact that we have a fascist party now coming third in the polls in a democratic European country. We have to think very seriously about austerity policies and what happens when you push a country into a position where people feel humiliated and hopeless. The country has been in recession for five years and the situation is absolutely desperate, with 25% unemployment – 54% among the young. Europe also has to look very hard at its policy on refugees so that we have a fair asylum system distributed equally among countries. The first country refugees get to in 90% of cases is Greece where the asylum system doesn't function. They end up getting trapped and staying there in very difficult circumstances.

### What do you see as the future prospects for Greek politics and civil society given the inexorable rise of the far right?

I'm worried that we'll see the continuing social breakdown and increasing violence. Golden Dawn MPs speak openly about a new kind of civil war. We need a broad anti-fascist coalition across the political spectrum and a real strengthening of democracy. That has to include the prosecution of corrupt politicians and an end to graft and tax evasion by the political class. None of this is going to be easy.

# GET A LITTLE HOPE

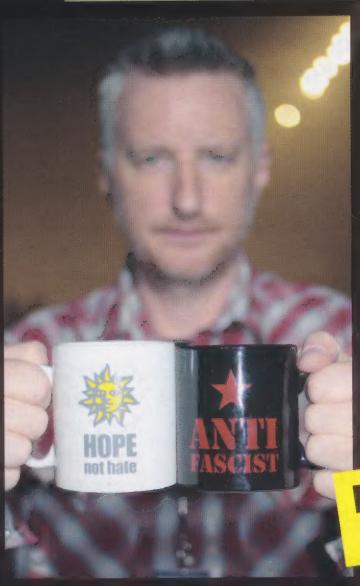
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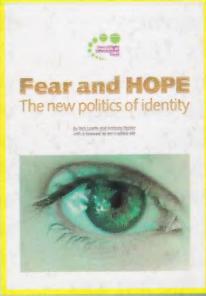
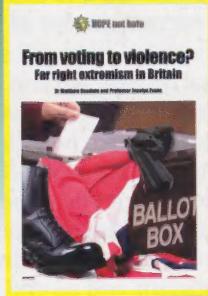
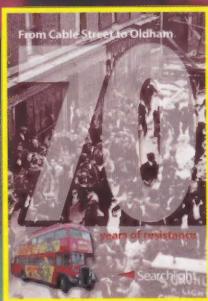
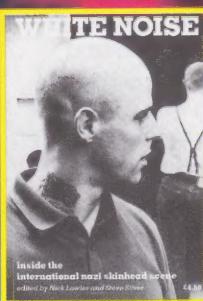
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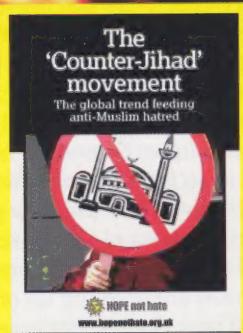
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